

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

ADULT EDUCATION
IN
SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND

The Development and Technique of Adult Education
with special reference to South-East Scotland

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PREFATORY NOTE

This thesis does not deal with technical or commercial adult education leading to a diploma or certificate nor with the many forms of domestic education (cookery, needlework, etc.) nor recreational education for adults (country dancing, keep-fit, handicrafts, etc.) found generally in ordinary further education establishments. It deals with what has been called liberal adult education as defined in Chapter I.

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I. ADULT EDUCATION DEFINED:

διπλοῦν ὁρᾶσιν οἱ μαθόντες γράμματα.

These words are incised on the oldest inscribed stone in the Old College of the University of Edinburgh and the authorities have had them repeated on the facade of the recent examination halls at Adam House, in Chambers Street. According to Robert Menteith, writing in 1713, the inscription spanned the back entry to the old library - and what could be a more fitting inscription for a library? It is an appropriate motto, too, for any study of adult education. It is an iambic trimeter of unknown, ancient origin about whose translation there has been quite a controversy. (1) The Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh (2) translated it, "Learned men have double insight," but a more literal translation, "Those who have learned letters see double," seems to be more accurate and appropriate. The man who has applied himself to learning, according to the poet, has given himself a second satisfaction in that he has a vision of a whole new world in which he may roam. The Greek dictionary (3) shows that Plato used the words of the

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1. University of Edinburgh Gazette: no.5: Nov.1953: pp.9-10.
 2. Inventory of Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh: (H.M.S.O.): p.119.
 3. Liddell and Scott: Greek Dictionary: article γράμμα

grammatical subject of the sentence to mean those who have learned to read but it is clear from other ancient authors that the same words can imply examination of all kinds of written material, treatises, documents, papers, records, learning in general or what we in the twentieth century would list among the tools of adult education. Hence the sentence might be freely translated for this modern age, "Those who undertake study give themselves an advantage."

It is perhaps advisable at this stage to define the terms of adult education before discussing its character, its development and its different techniques. In the pamphlet issued annually by the press office of St Andrew's House on Education in Scotland, adult education is dismissed in fewer than a hundred words. "Adult education is the term usually applied to serious study undertaken from cultural rather than vocational motive." (1) This definition is at once narrow in its outlook and vague in its terms. There is no indication of what might be cultural. The further explanatory sentence stating that it "finds expression in evening courses arranged by

1. Education in Scotland: 1958.

education authorities by themselves or in conjunction with the Workers' Educational Association or with the extra-mural department of a university," further limits the connotation of the phrase. Traditionally such a narrow definition is quite false so far as adult education in Scotland is concerned. When the late Archbishop Temple described education as "the fitting of persons to their environment so that they may live wisely in relation to it, " (1) he described adult education in its historical sense. Adult education has historically and traditionally been conditioned by the social life of the people at each age and always in a way appropriate to the age.

The idea of society is the basis of adult education. Just as there are within society many social classes, many professional interests and many occupational needs which have to be gathered together, so adult education is a reflection of all. It is a misunderstanding to regard adult education as existing for the benefit of one group or another and this misunderstanding has been perhaps one of the major hindrances to the progress of adult education

1. Temple: Worship and Education: (S.P.C.K.)

in the last hundred years or so. The best educated and the most enlightened section of the community need a provision of adult education just as any other group. It is a mistake to think, as so many writers seem to have done, (1) that adult education is the means by which the so-called under-privileged can raise their social standing. No doubt adult education will assist such groups to improve themselves but the privilege is not theirs alone. Neither is adult education concerned, as it was considered in earlier days and probably still is in some quarters, with the provision of education for adults whose early education at school was scanty or neglected. It is for these also but not for them alone. For example, when the teaching of reading and writing was necessary for adults in this country, as was the case upwards of a century ago, then these subjects featured in what might be called the adult education programme. They feature today in the programmes of the so-called backward or illiterate peoples of Africa and Asia, South America and elsewhere. When, however, elementary education (and in Scotland very early a minimum of secondary education) was provided by the state, compulsorily and free to all, the need for adult

1. Cf. Tawney, Cole, Mansbridge, &c.

education in Scotland to teach elementary reading and writing disappeared, as it will, in due course, no doubt, disappear in these other countries. But a new need has arisen even in these same subjects. Adults now wish to learn to read faster and more effectively: they desire to write better English: and they wish to understand better what they read. (1) These needs are the reflection of the mid-twentieth century just as much as the need for elementary instruction was in the early nineteenth and earlier.

It would be difficult to aver that instruction in reading or writing, at whatever level, whether elementary or in an advanced form, was undertaken for cultural reasons rather than vocational. Yet there was and is an adult need. Man wishes to read or write for probably a multitude of reasons, perhaps just for the sake of being able to get through the pages of a book, perhaps to make himself more proficient in his profession or trade or hobby. To read more quickly might be a cultural desire so that the adult can enjoy more and more literature but it might be vocational to enable him to save time which the business man regards as of prime importance

1. see Reports and syllabuses of University of Edinburgh Extra-Mural Department on Quicker Reading: 1956 et seq.

for time to him means profit. It is still the same subject in essence - reading. It has merely changed its nature from the adult point of view because of the change in the adult's environment. The study of the subject is quite serious in terms of the description but it is doubtful if a course in reading really fits into the narrow wording of the pamphlet. (1) Carlyle put reading as the principal subject ever taught when he said, "If we think of it, all that a university or final highest school can do for us is still what the first school began doing - teach us to read..... It depends on what we read, after all manner of professors have done their best for us." (2)

In the circular letter with which the Further Education (Scotland) Regulations 1959 were issued to local education authorities (3) adult education is passed over in a single short paragraph and an almost apologetic plea is made to the education authorities to provide adult education. "It is hoped, too, that education authorities and others will continue to increase facilities specifically designed to promote cultural or liberal education." The circular,

1. op.cit.

2. Carlyle quoted by Sir Philip Magnus, "Educational Aims and Efforts, 1880-1910: p.252.

3. Scottish Education Department circular 405: 31st March 1959: par.10.

however, does go on to commend the development of courses since the previous regulations were issued in 1952. The word "liberal" has been added to the word "cultural" in this circular. It is this word which has been used freely in recent years in reference to adult education. Plea after plea has been made for adult education to be liberal but in these very pleas much of the "liberality" has been lost. Anything savouring of vocational study has been frowned upon under this heading and liberal has lost much of its true meaning. Presumably it is derived from the Latin word, "liberalis," which itself is a derivative of "liber" - free. When, therefore, we give liberal its true meaning, we see that it belongs to freedom and relates to the freeborn condition of man. In its transferred sense in Latin the adjective implied what was befitting a free man, gentlemanly, noble, honourable, ingenuous and kind. (1) Cicero was fond of the adjective with reference to knowledge and learning. "Every art and liberal learning and especially philosophy delighted me." (2) "These arts in which liberal and ingenuous knowledge are contained, geometry, music,

1. see Latin Dictionaries e.g. Lewis and Short.

2. Cicero: Fam.4.4.4. "me omnis ars et doctrina liberalis et maxime philosophia delectavit."

understanding of literature and the poets.... " (1)
 Cicero made it clear that he was thinking of liberal studies as being worthy of the gentleman and that they were an important part of his education. They had a vocational purpose, namely, to equip the man for life whatever his job might be in addition to any cultural benefit which might come from them. They were, in short, the educational syllabus for the free man, the man free to choose.

So far as Scotland has been concerned, for many centuries, the free man has meant everyman. Liberal education would thus include rather than exclude much that is classed as vocational. It naturally changed and will change over the years in so far as the social condition of the state itself is not static. The growing needs of the community, either for work or for leisure, are part of a process of evolution. In that process the education of the free man must also change. Subjects which may have been considered adult at one time may now be classed appropriate for children while other subjects might change from one classification to another, from liberal to vocational or vice versa. The educational system of

1. Cicero; de Or.3.32.127: hae artes, quibus liberales doctrinae atque ingenuae continerentur, geometria, musica, litterarum cognitio et poetarum....

one century or even of one decade is developed on the ideas and ideals of the previous century or decade and each period, in its turn, passes on its inspirations and its aspirations to the next. Hence "liberal" must change its emphasis from period to period and what may have been written about it twenty years ago may no longer apply today but "liberal" will not change its meaning.

If we ignore those students in adult education who have joined classes at colleges and universities expressly to obtain some diploma or qualification and enquire what has brought the others to study their various subjects, it will at once be apparent that many, most, if not all, have come because of what they call "interest" in the subject. The motive which prompted their interest is not generally easy to determine. It was probably vocational in reality, seldom purely cultural. Some feel a gap in their knowledge or mental equipment. Perhaps in some cases, they enrol because of someone else's interest or ability - a kind of 'to-keep-up-with-the-Joneses' interest - or perhaps they have a pious hope that maybe the subject will turn out to be useful to them. These people all attend the classes voluntarily, of their own freewill, and, because of this, adult education has been

described as "for the most part free from the burden of teaching things which not one person in five of a class would try to learn except for very ulterior motives." (1) Adult education stands, therefore, in its essence, on the highest plane. It did in past ages. If it does not do so today something or some group has stepped in between the adult and education to change its character.

Adult education, in short, is a kind of social enterprise on which all the forces of social life at all its levels have some impact. Unfortunately there is one influence which has prevented and in some cases stifled the advance of adult education. It is suspicion. It is a recent infiltration. Suspicion played no part in the adult education of the past but the last hundred years have shown its growth. The uneducated or little educated man of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has looked with suspicion and envy at his fellow who has won for himself education or his position through education. There has been a philosophy of fear which has eaten into his soul and he has had bred into him a suspicion of all things academic. Mr Ramsay Macdonald, former Prime Minister,

1. E.L.Thorndike: Adult Interests: (Macmillan N.Y.1935) p.48

when secretary of the Labour Party, expressed and fostered this when he said that he thought the education of working men of his time at Oxford was "exactly what is wanted, so far as its aims and aspirations are concerned but I feel that you must be careful. Oxford is a poison..... I want my people to feel a sense of self-respect so strong and so proud as to be protected by its own merits from fawning before dons, deans or anybody else. Those of us who have experienced life are quite as educated, in the best sense of the word, as those who have read books. My idea of the working man is that he should have both experiences, but he really cannot have them unless he retains a pride in his own genuine roughness and capacity for looking on realities even if they are humble and simple.... You cannot re-create Oxford by an infusion of working men.... Oxford will assimilate them, not they Oxford...." (1) Such a remark by a leader of the people can be regarded as the expression of an inferiority complex and a denial to his "people" of part of their heritage. It is a false assessment of "sitting at the feet of the master." It is saying, in short, that man must only be influenced towards

1. quoted by H.P.Smith: Labour & Learning:(Blackwell 1956) p.76.

the predetermined decisions of an agency which desires his allegiance and support and which, in so doing, denies him freedom. It was the same fear and attitude which an Edinburgh extra-mural lecturer found when trying to start a class in a mining community near the city. "The University hasn't bothered about us up to now. Why does it offer us classes now? There is something behind this." These remarks of an old miner just over a year ago at a meeting called to start an adult education class prevented a class in the area. A community lost its opportunity probably for years to come because of suspicion. The National Council of Labour Colleges also keeps propounding the same theory, year after year, insinuating that the University and adult education connected with the University belong to a privileged class and no working man can really accept University adult education without succumbing to the influence of the capitalist society. The present writer met the same attitude at a recent conference concerning education for men in H.M. Forces, when, having made a comment about trade union education, he was met with a question from a member of the audience, "Which firm do you represent?" When informed from the chair, "The University," he retorted, "Same thing - the boss class."

This fear, of course, is not shown just towards education. It is a feature of the age, especially of workers' organisations, if not of every age. "Those who have come into close contact with working-class organisations have recognised as one of the greatest hindrances to their success the distrust that a large section of the rank and file of the members show towards their leaders." (1) The plea is readily made, even by the same workers themselves, that education will remove this distrust but the uneducated man is always chary about what he does not understand, whatever it might be. Included in his list of subjects is education itself, the very remedy that he believes will help him solve his difficulties. He, therefore, becomes a prey to propaganda of all kinds and judges all things from the point of view of self-interest, expediency and immediacy rather than from the wider angle of citizenship and long-term benefit.

Such attitudes towards adult education remove from it the "liberalness" that inspired it centuries ago and made it the education of the people. They put the clock back centuries. They are an unfortunate reflection of the social

1. Parry (ed.): Cambridge Essays on Adult Education: (Cambridge 1920): p.91.

life of the age when even culture is being enlisted for one group or another instead of for all. The same sun shines on all; true education is the same for all. The result is or can be that the victim of these attitudes will not be the different factions but culture itself. Then we shall be able to repeat what James Barclay wrote in 1743, "The loss of education we regret as no small misfortune, as the occasion of many errors in our conduct and wish we could recall the hours we threw away.... The publick as well as the happiness of the particular person is concerned; since upon the manner of education depends the ensuing course of life.... " (1) A jaundiced view of life in the present generation may warp the future of the nation. It may deprive generations to come of the full life which is their inheritance.

Sir Richard Livingstone described technical education as simply that which enabled us to earn our bread but he pointed out also that that did not make us complete human beings. Complete human beings he regarded as being made up of three parts, bodies, minds and characters. "Each of these is capable of what the Greeks call virtue or what

1. James Barclay: A Treatise on Education: (Edinburgh 1743) p.1.

we might call excellence." (1) Unless each is nurtured in the spirit of excellence, the free man, the real man, will not be complete. He will require to have something more than just the knowledge for him to gain his livelihood. He will require the art of living which he will gain through a study of philosophy, art, literature, history and liberal studies. He will become a full man "through habitual converse with humane letters." (2)

Sir Richard was merely expressing in the twentieth century what was said four hundred years before the birth of Jesus regarding technical education. "It is not the life of knowledge, not even if it included all the sciences, that creates happiness and well-being but a single branch of knowledge - the science of good and evil. If you exclude this from the other branches, medicine will be equally able to give us health, and shoemaking to supply us with shoes, and the weaver's art our clothes. Seamanship will still save life at sea and strategy win battles. But without the knowledge of good and evil, the use and excellence of these sciences will be found to have failed us." (3) Adult

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1. Sir Richard Livingstone: The Future of Education: (Cambridge 1941) p.69.
 2. S.S.Laurie: Educational Wants of Scotland: (Blackwood 1881): p.6.
 3. Plato: Charmides 174c: quoted Further Education: Cmd.8454: (H.M.S.O. 1952)

education must supply this essential education, the knowledge of good and evil, which, being interpreted, means the study of the liberal arts.

Adult education alone can supply this need. Young children are largely unable to distinguish between good and evil for our young people, whether in trades, at colleges or universities, have not lived long enough to have their ideas formulated. The university undergraduate or college student can amass facts, scientific or historical, but his immaturity prevents his making judgments on these facts. He relies largely on the judgments of others, either those of his teachers or the books he reads (and these are often only those recommended by the teachers). He has also a limited amount of time for this apprenticeship. Often he only sees the immediate end, his desire to be out in the world earning his living. He does not see his education as a foundation of knowledge to be built on in the future. The adult student, however, who is generally seeking neither diploma nor certificate comes to his subject with a mature mind. (The rush for 'credits' of the United States of America variety has not yet conditioned adult learning in Scotland.) The adult is not prepared merely

to accept what is given out by his teacher. His teacher, as will be shown later, will come off the rostrum of knowledge and discuss with the adult. Both will learn together, working out the great facts and the great truths of the universe by question and answer, observation and experience. It becomes a genuine form of self-education where the student is ardent in his desire to follow his interest. The adult student learns, rather than is taught. The adult student chooses to meet his own needs. He is like the diner in the restaurant who chooses his meal 'à la carte' rather than 'table d'hôte.' (1)

This choice brings back the enquirer to the motives behind the enrolment of adult students in classes. An enquiry, twenty years ago, collected many students' replies to set questions, but from these it was clear that most of the students who were working men and women had a vocational as well as a cultural outlook. "In a sense I think that education of any kind, if it helps to develop powers of thought, has important vocational consequences." (2)

When asked what they regarded as the main advantages

1. Cf. Further Education: vol.i. no.12. p.270

2. W.E.Williams & A.E.Heath: Learn & Live: (Methuen 1936): p.39.

and defects of the non-vocational character of adult education one student replied, "What a relief to attend a class which treats a subject more from the philosophical than the f.s.d. point of view." (1) Most replies, however, shared some underlying vocational desire. "It would be an advantage to a class if the tutor was to ascertain from what industries his students were drawn. He could give some place to the historical developments of such industries. This would tend to make the student more interested in his industry." (2) This tendency of the past is not different from that of today.

1. *ibid*: p.30.

2. *ibid*: p.46.

II. EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION:

It would appear that, throughout history, men did study in order to gain some advantage for themselves or over their fellows. We would probably call the first liberal education and the second vocational but so often it would be hard to draw the line of division. When Seneca said, "You should keep on learning as long as you do not know, and, if we believe the proverb, to the end of your life," (1) he was expressing the same idea as Martin Luther, many centuries later, when he said, "If I rest, I rust." (2) Men learned at all times from some motive, either connected with their living, or with making their living. They were keen to be better men or better scholars or better craftsmen or simply better employers and employees. Pursuit of knowledge was largely regarded as part of a well-designed or ordered life. A U.N.E.S.C.O. report of 1952 would have it that it was adult education which led many of the leaders of society in the past and in the

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1. Seneca: "Tam diu discendum est, quum diu nescias, et, si proverbio credimus, quam diu vivas."
 2. Luther: Maxims: "Rast' ich, so rost' ich."

present to take their exalted positions. "Montaigne," it claims, "Jefferson, Goethe and Franklin are ideal types of the adult learner," (1) but Ruskin raised the voice of condemnation that our only two aims in life were to get more of whatever we had and to go somewhere else than wherever we were. On the other hand, this restless discontent was ascribed by another as the "meagre need of human life" which came from "lack of a sincere endeavour after self-knowledge." (2)

The ancients who wrote and thought about education always considered it and treated it as a lifelong experience, a process which had as its first stage, the training of children, and then continued beyond into maturity. Cicero expressed this general conception of education excellently when he wrote, "These studies nourish youth, give pleasure to old age; they adorn prosperity; they offer a refuge and comfort in difficulty; they give pleasure at home, do not hinder in business, spend our evenings with us, travel with us and live with us in the country." (3) Professor

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1. Universities in Adult Education: (UNESCO 1952) p.18.
 2. H.Black: Practice of Self-Culture: (London 1904) p.9.
 3. Cicero: Arch.7.16. "haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis profugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."

C.A.Houle of the University of Chicago summed up the position in two sentences in a speech he gave at a conference at Colorado in 1956, "It was taken for granted that anybody who had acquired the tools of learning when he was young would want to use them when he became an adult. If not, why bother to acquire them?" (1) It was just accepted from the earliest times and few books were written on the education of the adult. Before the invention of printing, education was largely oral but it was in these times that some of the greatest teaching was done.

Education was linked with the religion and the philosophy of the people. It was part of the whole life of the people. The teachers were often the priests or the philosophers or their equivalents. The educational precepts for the adult appeared in the sacred writings of the religions and in the maxims of the philosophers. They were expounded by the teachers who knew the sacred books and the moral law. The Hebrew had his Law and the Hindu knew his literature. Jesus was teaching the adult population when he stooped down and "with his finger

1. Liberal Adult Education: (Fund for Adult Education, New York 1956): p.54.

wrote on the ground." (1) The Greeks learned from the philosophers who taught in the arcades and at the street corners. "It is one of the astonishing facts in the history of culture," wrote Ulich in 1954, "that the first coherent treatise on government and education which we possess in western civilisation, namely Plato's "Republic," is at the same time the most profound.... "(2) That was in the days before printing, in the days when adult education was not considered something apart but the natural pursuit of the grown man.

The guardians of the "Republic" continued the formal education of the young man to the age of thirty-five but thereafter men were expected to continue their studies into later life. In old age it was they who would become the counsellors of the state. Their education had therefore to be lifelong and its nature had to have a practical or vocational end, but in the highest or broadest sense. The study of philosophy, religion, and literature had a vocational aim for the Greeks, to give men the nobler life as individuals and as members

1. John viii.6

2. Robert Ulich: Three Thousand Years of Educational Wisdom: (Harvard 1954) p.31.

of the community. We, today, call such an education liberal but in so far as the liberal education had a practical end, the government of the state, it was essentially vocational. Plato would describe it as "the only education which, in our view, deserved the name: that other sort of training which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice was mean and illiberal and not worthy to be called education at all." (1) It is something which has to last for the whole of life. Professor Sir Godfrey Thomson has shown that "there will be an end of education in the true sense" if the idea of education is merely preparation for some future stage in life and if that idea is allowed to dominate education to such a degree that education is considered "as finishing at some point after which the trained adult proceeds to function as an educated man." (2)

The education of the adult was mostly informal in early times. It took place in familiar surroundings in what we today might regard as the social club which, for the Greeks, was in the colonnades of the city. The subjects for discussion were as wide as knowledge itself:

1. Plato: Laws: i.465

2. G.H. Thomson: A Modern Philosophy of Education: (Allen & Unwin, 2nd Ed. 1931) p.240.

the aims were practical as well as cultural; the result was what M.L.Jacks would claim as "the reconciliation of liberal and vocational pursuits in a wider unity." (1) Education was one important factor in the making of a competent citizen and an efficient city state. It could show its influence in the trade of the country. It was no shame if education was put to worldly advantage and advancement. It could reveal itself in the literary and scholastic life of the people in their logical discussion and democratic argument. It could be the means of better educated children, for if the parents were educated they would surely pass on something, however informally, to their children, by example, precept and ideal. It could stand out clearly in the government of the country and who more than Socrates demonstrated political reasoning and governmental ideas in the Dialogues. It was, of course, education for a particular class, for the free men of the ancient world. It was not officially for the slaves of whom there were thousands in the ancient city states but even they would appear to have benefited by education if we understand correctly

1. M.L.Jacks: Total Education: (Kegan Paul 1946) p. 140.

references to slaves in certain positions of authority and trust in the ancient world and if we interpret aright the words put into the mouths of slaves in the literary works of the time.

This adult education, however, varied from nation to nation, according to the character of the people themselves, their aims and their standards. For the classical peoples it was a power that raised the national type and was a basis for national prosperity and national unity. The same could not be said of the barbarian hosts who swept across Europe to destroy or rather to suspend the great culture already described. Yet there are also traces in their culture of adult learning, be it perhaps only the education of the chase or the battlefield. Education was for them what Edgar described in another context as "the method by which each people rears up for itself successors who, inheriting the tendencies and in some degree the characteristics of their fathers and living in the same local and climatic environment, shall carry forward the torch of the national spirit.... " (1)

1. John Edgar: History of Early Scottish Education: (Edinburgh 1893) p.4.

The passing on of the national spirit is education of a liberal type. It may have been in the cave by the head of the household instructing the family by the light of the fire at the entrance: it may have been when the chief of the tribe summoned the people to a meeting. It was no literary education but it was cultural in that it preserved and raised the culture of the peoples and it was vocational in that it was generally pursued for a practical end.

III. ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND UP TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:

Such must have been the earliest adult education of Scotland and of the Edinburgh and the Border area. It was a primitive culture which developed, as in ancient Greece, through the family, the priesthood and the storytellers. The Life of Saint Margaret records how Queen Margaret brought to Scotland education and the arts. She was herself studious and we read that she was a patroness of scholars. She encouraged her court to learn letters and she taught her children. She had two monks and a friar sent from England to give instruction. King Malcolm supported her and to show his respect for the work he had a highly illuminated copy of the Gospels made for her use, a work which is now one of the treasures of the Bodleian Library in Oxford. (1) But Margaret was merely superimposing a more civilised culture on an earlier one which had already existed for centuries, however barbarian it may have been by Margaret's standards. It had grown up with the development of the kingdom. The Romans had influenced it when they were in Scotland. Columba had given it a Christian soul. The Celts had

1. quoted in Gardiner: English Girlhood at School:
(Oxford 1929) pp.27 et seq.

adapted themselves as the centuries passed. Education meant something for them.

The priest was concerned with moral education and his cathedral was his text-book. The monk had carved on the walls of his abbey church and on the crosses of pilgrimage illustrations of the great stories of the Bible. Little remains in Lothian but it could not have been different from similar carvings found elsewhere. For example, on the ancient Norman doorway of the village church of Duddingston can still faintly be seen carvings showing the Christ and also a scene in which appears the apostle Peter. At Linlithgow there are sculptured sandstone slabs illustrating scenes from the passion. On one of these Christ is seen at prayer in the Garden of Gethsemene; on another, Judas gives the kiss of betrayal while Peter raises his sword. Roslin Chapel is full of these carvings, both inside and outside, many now fairly illegible. The apostles with their representative symbols are in the south aisle while elsewhere are groups of figures representing the incidents of the infancy, the passion and the resurrection of the Saviour. These were the earliest

books of the people, visual education for the community.(1) Prior to the Christian era there were the standing stones which could be explained by the priests, Druids or others and so would develop the study of the seasons and the vagaries of nature. In Columban times (Columba is associated in the name of Inchcolm in the Firth of Forth where he or one of his followers is considered to have founded an early place of worship.)(2) society in Lothian was largely tribal and the monastic system evolved had a tribal similarity. Each monastery was the centre of the religious and of the literary life of the community and round it the whole tribe in its separate families was grouped. As the monastery grew, so grew up schools and colleges, hospitals, asylums and various subsidiary churches, all spreading education among the people. That this was so we learn from Bede and others. "It is related

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1. An excellent example is the wonderfully carved tenth century cross in Iona called St Martin's Cross on which are represented the Virgin and Child, Daniel in the lion's den, and David playing before Saul.

For further details of these and similar carvings in other parts of South-East Scotland see the appropriate volumes of the Reports of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

2. Guide to Inchcolm: (H.M.S.O.)

by Bede that the English students who frequented Scotia in the seventh century were supplied with books for reading by the native monks and that they received both their food and their education free of charge. Some of them gave themselves up to the monastic discipline but others simply pursued a life of study going from one master's cell to another and gathering from each the knowledge which he had to impart." (1) There was then to be had in Scotland at this early period sufficient learning to justify students travelling to Scotland to acquire it at what was the only university of the time, the cloisters and the cells of the monasteries.

Besides religious education there was a literary tradition to be passed on by the minstrel and the bard. The bard shared with the priest the attention and the education of the people. The bard taught the people history, music and poetry and gave them an inspiration through the memory of the great achievements of their ancestors. Their stories, myths and legends were in the vernacular of the people. Bards could always find an audience, whether at the monastery gate, in the castle

1. Edgar: op.cit. p.12.

hall or on the village green. These men were the adult educators, giving a liberal education to the people for many centuries. So important was their work that there existed schools of the bards which have been called "national universities for the preservation of literature and history." (1) If education for the ancient Greeks by the philosophers was largely for the free man the minstrel knew neither bond nor free and in this country he became the educator of the common man as well as of the lord of the castle. This education was for the grown-up and not for the child. The child was possibly present when the bard was singing his songs but the message was for the grown-up. The education of children was not the first concern of the people. John Major, writing as late as 1521, in his "History of Greater Britain" complains that "the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals - no small calamity for the state." (2) But he was only expressing what had happened through the centuries. Education was an adult business and only as adults became educated did they press for education

1. Edgar: op.cit. p.28

2. John Major: History of Greater Britain: (1521) p.48
 quoted Source Book of Scottish History: (Nelson 1953)
 vol.ii. p.8.

of young persons and then of children. The Scottish church led the way in this direction. The monasteries had, for the most part, established schools by the twelfth century. The Royal High School of Edinburgh had been founded by the monks of Holyrood about the same time as the abbey although it may have been even earlier.(1) The practice of founding schools continued although there was considerable decline in the century before the Reformation. Dr Morgan claims that the church of this period served the cause of popular education "without fee or reward of any kind" and was content to "teach the poor for God's sake." He claims also that the amount of poetical and historical writing in the language of the people is evidence that "not only the nobility but the mass of the people had a considerable share of education and could appreciate literature." (2)

At the Reformation the reformed church passed legislation for a school in every parish. The emphasis of education was changing. It was passing to education for the young. It is this development of education which

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1. Steven: History of the High School of Edinburgh: (Edinburgh 1849) p.3 : and Ross: The Royal High School: (Oliver & Boyd 1934) p.19
 2. Alex. Morgan: Rise & Progress of Scottish Education: (Oliver & Boyd 1929) p.36.

has been discussed in the text-books and histories of education to the neglect of the original education of the country, the education of adults. Somehow the education of adults stepped into the background and became forgotten while pamphlet and treatise were written to encourage the development of elementary education for children. The adult no doubt considered that ability to read was essential for further development and he decided that the time to learn was in childhood. Thus in the sixteenth century education in this country was changing its emphasis to the child, meeting the social conditions of the time and the growing requirements of the community. It took nearly three centuries to achieve universal elementary education and about the same period of time to see a revival of adult education.

How literate the adult population of Scotland was in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is difficult to assess except by inference. Ability to read was probably more widespread than is often thought but scholarship had reached a low level by the early 1500s. Priests in charge of the village churches were poorly educated and were not allowed to enter into serious discussion about

the substance of their teaching which was according to the book of their order. This presupposes that there were people sufficiently educated to argue with them. It is significant, too, that about 1552, there was issued, by the Roman church, Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism which gave a simple explanation of the Roman faith in the vernacular of the people for their instruction. This was the Roman church's counterblast to the pamphlets of the Reformation. It was laid down, however, that the parish priest was not allowed to loan his copy without permission of his dean. The comparatively extensive supply of printed matter would seem to imply that there were sufficient people in the country who were able to read and understand it. The Roman church also at the provincial council held at Edinburgh on 27th November 1549 made provision for teaching churchmen and poor scholars that they "may be able to pass to the study of the Holy Scriptures." (1) Such education would probably be considered today as vocational training but nevertheless it was education of adults rather than of children and it may perhaps be assumed that there were sufficient

1. Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ ii.no.201 quoted by Grant: History of Burgh Schools; p.44.

persons in the community who were qualified to benefit by such instruction.

Printing was introduced in the fifteenth century and Caxton issued from his press at Westminster his first book in England in 1477, "The Dictes or Sayengis of the Philosophers," a volume which today might claim a place on the shelves of an adult liberal education library. James IV, patron of the arts and education of his time, granted the sole licence to Walter Chepman, an Edinburgh merchant, and Andrew Myllar, a bookseller, to obtain a printing press and type to print, "within our realm the books of our laws, acts of parliament, chronicles, mass-books and prayer-books.... and all other books that shall be seen necessary." (1) It was in 1507 that they set up their printing press at the foot of Blackfriars Street, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, and printed a miscellany which included poems by Dunbar and Henryson.

It was printing that "enabled knowledge and argument to flow through the many religious societies which made up the structure of mediaeval Europe," (2) and this was

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1. Source Book of Scottish History: vol.ii. p.117
 2. W.S.Churchill: History of the English Speaking Peoples: (Cassell) vol.ii. p.3.

no less true in Scotland. Accompanying printing came the desire to read the fruits of the printing presses and where the inhabitants could not read someone read to them from the printed book. The difficulties of the old with reading focussed attention on the need to teach the children and the youth to read. This, in turn, in Scotland, led to greater attention being paid to elementary education and the establishment of schools to teach the young.

The Reformation arrived in Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century and caused a reorganisation of the economy of the country no less important than did the industrial revolution more than two centuries later. The social structure of the country, dependent to a large extent on the Roman church, centred on the monasteries, was first threatened and then destroyed. John Knox and his followers, realising the seriousness of such a breakdown, produced the Books of Discipline. The old rulers were passing and new rulers had to hold the offices and positions rendered vacant. A new educated society was urgently required. The reformers saw in the education of the people, the peasants and country people,

the townsfolk and the islanders, the means of training new leaders just as, in the last century, "a new educated élite" was "required by trade unions and other workers' organisations to provide leaders, officials and representatives on workers' councils and similar bodies." (1) Knox realised that, if the reformation movement, with its social upheaval, was to survive and flourish an instructed rank and file was absolutely necessary. On the financial side Knox was forestalled but he stressed that education was to be for all, a continuous process from elementary school to university. Knox had a wider educational view than his contemporaries in other countries when he advocated a system of schools, colleges and universities but it was probably a very natural solution for Scotland whose people had perhaps a better background of learning already. An education act had been passed by the Scottish parliament in 1496 to ensure that the eldest sons and heirs of barons and freeholders attended school from the age of eight or nine years. The purpose of the act was limited so that these sons should be more able to dispense justice later. The effectiveness of the act is

1. S.H.Bailey: International Studies in Modern Education: (Oxford 1938) p.156.

in doubt (1) but there is no doubt about the act of 1543 authorising the use of the Bible in the vernacular. "It shall be lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges to have the holy writ both the new testament and the auld in the vulgar tongue in English or Scots of a good and true translation." (2)

The school was often the theme of discussion at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. "Seeing that God hath determined that his Church here on earth shall be taught, not by angels, but by men," says the First Book of Discipline in 1560, "of necessity, it is that your Honours be most careful for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this Realm." (3) School was to be followed by college, "in which the Arts, at least Logic and Rhetoric, together with the Tongues, be read by sufficient masters." (4) After that came the university.

Hence, as early as the sixteenth century, the foundation

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1. Source Book of Scottish History: vol.ii.p.116
 2. *ibid.*p.121. (It is of note that one of the first acts of a Stuart king in London after the Union of the Crowns was also to authorise a translation of the Bible in the native tongue.(1604)
 3. First Book of Discipline 295: cf. Source Book ii.p.166
 4. *ibid.* 296.

had been laid for a thorough national graded system of education from elementary school to university. "The national character of the schools and the universities was equally pronounced. It was national in the sense that every rank or grade of society from the poorest to the richest, for ages, shared in common the education which the schools and universities provided."(1)

The idea of a separate school in every parish was not really confirmed by the Privy Council till 1616 and by parliament in 1633. Loopholes in the acts prevented their full implementation and we find further acts till that of 1696 gave the necessary powers but even that did not function quickly enough in some of the presbyteries.

The seventeenth century which began with the Union of the Crowns and the golden age of Shakespeare was soon to be clouded in religious strife and instability among the people. There was to be a long struggle between king and parliament in England, a civil war, a period of dictatorship and a revolution. Religious strife was

1. J.Strong: Secondary Education in Scotland.

early to upset the serenity of the fields of Scotland and many were to die in the cause of religious freedom. For over a hundred years Scotland was to suffer socially as a result of struggles of faith, belief and loyalty, from the days of the Covenanters to the Darien Scheme adventure and right on to the Jacobite uprisings. It was no settled land for the development of education, adult or otherwise. Hume Brown called it, "the most pitiful in our annals." (1) Education reached a low level. The General Assembly in 1639 declared it was part of the duty of an elder that family worship was held in every household. The Kirk session records, however, of the parish of Drummelzier in Peeblesshire report that about 1650 the minister questioned his elders as to whether they conducted family worship by reading the scriptures in their homes. "They all answered that they neither read themselves nor had any in their family who could read. On which the minister exhorted them to send their children to school and in hiring servants to try to get some who could read." (2) Though illiterate, the people were not ignorant. They were

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1. quoted by H.W.Meikle: Some Aspects of Later 17th Century Scotland: (David Murray Foundation Lecture at Glasgow University 1947)
 2. New Statistical Account: Peeblesshire: p.76.

well schooled in the catechism; they had a solid grounding in divinity; they could sustain a serious argument in debate on the Bible; they knew the psalms which were read line by line in order that the people might join in the singing in much the same way as the Salvation Army does today at the street corner where no hymnbooks are provided. The blame has been put on the heritors, landowners and the town councils for their meanness, "whose sense of the value of education, measured by the means they provided to maintain it, was lamentably deficient." (1) There is no doubt, however, that these same illiterates had in full measure from experience what Comenius urged as a basis of education. "As far as possible men are to be taught to become wise, not by books but by the heavens, the earth, oaks and beeches: that is, they must know and examine the things themselves and not the observations and testimony of others about the things." (2) Probably most of the inhabitants of Scotland - there was only about a million of them - would be well schooled in these things.

The general decay in literary standards of the people

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1. Mackinnon: Social & Industrial History of Scotland from the Union to the Present Time: (Longmans Green 1921) p.36.
 2. Komensky (Comenius): Didactica Magna xviii. p.28.

was, however, giving concern to some in the realm. In 1704, for example, we have a strongly worded book urging better education. "There is one great cause of the low condition of Learning. People who are daily pinched for the Back and the Belly cannot bestow time upon the Improvement of their Minds: their Spirits are depressed under their Poverty: they have not money to afford them Books, or to bring them into Conversation of the World: And how without these a Man can become a good Scholar passes my comprehension.... " (1) The English historian blames the Scottish church for the condition of the people, criticising the Scottish clergy who were driven "into the arms of the people" by the neglect and persecution of the church by the rulers of the land just after the reformation. In time, and certainly by the middle of the seventeenth century, the clergy, controlled the people. "The Scotch, during the seventeenth century, instead of cultivating the arts of life, improving their minds, or adding to their wealth, passed the greater part of their time in what were called religious exercises. The

1. Proposals for the Reformation of Schools and Universities in order to the Better Education of Youth humbly offered to the serious consideration of the High Court of Parliament (1704) p.4.

sermons were so long and so frequent that they absorbed all leisure and yet the people were never weary of hearing them." (1)

A disciplinary system had been cast upon Scotland which "was strengthened by the prescription of periodic fasts of a very exacting nature," (2) and which "lost nothing of its thoroughness as applied during the next century and a half by the ministers and their office-bearers, known as the Kirk Session, who systematically practised their inquisitorial functions." (3)

Adult education, therefore, faded out except in the narrower form of religious education, superstition and dogma, of which there was plenty. All the great thinkers, except a few like Napier of Merchiston, were clergymen. Scotland produced no great poetry or drama, no literature or philosophy now considered worth reading. History and religion were the subjects of the century but Biblical criticism was prohibited. "Ask not a reason of these things but rather adore and tremble at the mystery and

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1. H.T.Buckle: History of Civilisation in England: (Longmans Green 1902) vol.iii.p.203.
 2. Mackinnon: Social & Industrial History of Scotland from earliest times to the Union: (Blackie 1920) p.148
 3. *ibid.* p.148.

and majesty of them." (1) Adult education could not thrive under such conditions. No wonder that we have the satire and criticism of Burns in the next century in his poems like *The Holy Fair*, *The Unco Guid*, and so on.

Gradually, in the next century, the eighteenth, change took place. There was a striking and noteworthy contrast. The same English writer who had trounced the seventeenth century in Scotland praised "the eminent and enterprising thinkers" of the eighteenth "whose genius lighted up every department of knowledge and whose minds, fresh and vigorous as the morning, opened for themselves a new career, and secured for their country a high place in the annals of European intellect." (2) It became a century of enquiry with great names like Adam Smith and Hume, Erskine and Ramsay, Hutton and Burns. A new secular philosophy began in Scotland, attributed to Francis Hutcheson, the Glasgow professor whose "Moral Philosophy" brought for him a world-wide reputation. "Il n'avait paru en Ecosse ni un écrivain ni un professeur de philosophie un peu remarquable." (3) He claimed that

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1. Binning's Sermons: vol.1.p.143; quoted Buckle:op.cit. footnote p.286.
 2. Buckle: op.cit. vol.iii.p.460
 3. M.Cousin: Histoire de la Philosophie:(Paris 1846) vol. iv.p.35.

"the intention of moral philosophy is to direct men to that course of action which tends most effectively to promote their greatest happiness and perfection: as far as it can be done by observations and conclusions discoverable from the constitution of nature.... " (1)

The era of the search for truth and research had begun, first among the intellectuals, but soon the desire for learning was to pass along the line to the common people. They were no longer expected to profess things contrary to their convictions. It is true that this at first led many kinds of small groups and factions to abuse each other and to spread a certain confusion through the country. The gloom of the superstition which held the country evaporated in an appreciation of beauty and the enjoyment of the arts of music, painting, sculpture and literature. But the change was slow. Indeed the religious superstition died hard and even still persisted, though in milder form, into the twentieth century. The eighteenth century saw the first rise of literary and scientific societies for the discussion and encouragement

1. Hutcheson: Moral Philosophy: vol.i.p.1.

of the various sections of learning which they claimed to sponsor. The earliest was probably that formed in 1718 by the masters of The Royal High School of Edinburgh for the "cultivation of Greek and Roman literature." (1) The doctors, under Dr Munro (primus) formed a Medical Society in 1731 which was extended to include other sciences and became known as the Philosophical Society. An astronomical society in 1736 proposed the erection of an observatory on the Calton Hill of Edinburgh and in 1754 Allan Ramsay, the son of the poet, founded the Select Society which quickly included in its membership such eminent men as Adam Smith, David Hume and William Robertson, Principal of Edinburgh University. It was the last named who proposed that the many societies should come together as the Royal Society of Edinburgh which was formed in 1782. The Antiquarian Society of 1780 and the Highland Society of 1785 were also important, the latter with the ambition to "promote agricultural improvements in the Highlands," (2) and with the intention of founding a lectureship in agricultural chemistry and a school of veterinary surgery.

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1. New Statistical Account: Edinburgh: p.687.
 2. *ibid*: p.692.

In the country areas the heritage of the rural peasantry and the agricultural life not only influenced eighteenth century literature, in prose, drama and verse, but there was founded in many areas of the south-east of Scotland, and even in the remoter districts of it, agricultural societies of one kind or another, often under the patronage of the local nobleman or laird. In Ormiston, East Lothian, Mr John Cockburn, who was distinguished for his patriotic and benevolent exertions to promote the improvement of his native county, "to disseminate a spirit for agricultural improvement through the country in 1736 instituted a club or society composed of noblemen, gentlemen and farmers.... for the purpose of discussing some appropriate question in rural or political economy." (1) This society lasted over ten years. Some time later, in Ettrick parish, a progressive farmer founded "the first pastoral society" (2) which counted among its members most of the landed proprietors and farmers "besides a good many patriotic gentlemen of the county." This society might also claim to have been a very early forerunner of the modern Young Farmers' Clubs

1. *ibid*: East Lothian: p.138

2. *ibid*: Selkirkshire: p.71

for it "serves also as a school where the young farmer will see the real and apparent properties of live stock pointed out by the judges but also hear the relative advantages and disadvantages of almost every breed fearlessly discussed." (1) The Hawick farmers' club was established in 1776 and a considerable number of others around the turn of the century. The Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture was founded on 25th May 1754. (2) It gave premiums for the best discoveries in the sciences, for the best essays on taste and for "the best dissertation on vegetation and the principles of agriculture." The advances in agriculture during the century were considerable and influenced the lives of the farm workers and others. In the second half of the century carts became common in the south-east of Scotland replacing pack-horses and sledges; drainage was improved; longer leases were arranged; rotation of crops was introduced; the swing plough was invented by John Small of Dalkeith in 1750 and by the end of the century as many as 350 threshing machines, invented by the Meikles of Saltoun, were in use in East Lothian. (3)

1. *ibid.* p.71.

2. *Scots Magazine* 1755: p.126 & prospectus in Edinburgh Public Library.

3. Mackinnon: *Social History from the Union*: pp.3 ff.

The position of the farm tenant and the farm worker had improved financially and also his accommodation, dress and diet. A revolution had taken place. The first half of the century differed little from the two or three hundred years before it but the second half century brought a marked transformation in all aspects of life. There was now some time to think of education at its various levels.

This was also the age of change in industry and it is interesting to record that, in 1760, the Board of Manufactures decided to apply £115 per annum "to promote the art of drawing for the use of manufactures." (1) The students were first limited to twenty in number and the teacher was a Frenchman, William de la Cour. This was the first school of art in Britain to be maintained from national funds and was in existence for eight years before the Royal Academy opened its doors. (Among the pupils of this school were Sir David Wilkie, Sir William Allan and Sir John Watson Gordon.) The teaching had the vocational bias of producing design for industry but it soon enrolled students of other forms of art culture. By the next century there were classes in architecture

1. Studies in the Development of Edinburgh: no. iv. series (Institute of Public Administration 1939) p.32

and ornamental design, in the antique, the living model and painting and a class in anatomy. It could not be said that all the students by that time attended for vocational reasons. It was organised adult education fully thirty years before the usual date given for its modern start and it was adult education supported by the state a hundred years before the principle again began to be discussed. Ultimately this institution was absorbed in the Edinburgh College of Art.

Edinburgh, as a city, burst its boundaries in the second half of the eighteenth century. Lord Provost Drummond successfully had had approved the building of the North Bridge across the Nor' Loch, a circumstance which led the way for the development of the new town of Edinburgh with its spacious streets and later great architecture. No longer did the rich and poor of Edinburgh live crowded in rooms in lofty tenements in the High Street but there was a separation. The better-off set up their homes in the new town and the old properties deteriorated into slums. Industry was also beginning to develop in southern Scotland. The Carron works were founded in 1760. Coal mines and salt

workings continued in the eighteenth century to be maintained principally by 'bondsmen' who were virtually slaves who could be punished for running away. The same could be said to a degree of the various woollen mills in the area. At "the new mills cloth factory in Haddingtonshire there was a 'prison at the manufactory' and hands who ran away or broke their contracts could be dealt with by summary methods." (1) In the west, Glasgow was fast becoming an industrial city. In Scotland, as in England, and elsewhere, the age of steam was driving the people into the factories and a new class of society was growing up, the factory worker. There were innumerable jobs available in industry and those who had even the slightest technical skill were likely candidates for promotion.

1. G.M.Trevelyan: English Social History: (Longmans 1948)
p.439.



IV. VOLUNTARY MOVEMENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND, 1800 to 1850:

Politically, in its later years, the eighteenth century had made the country alive. There had been a long period of war with France, followed by the loss of the American colonies. Republicanism had a new political vogue. Liberty, equality and fraternity coloured the literature and Byron was no exception in Scotland. The rough carving, by a French prisoner, on one of the prison doors at Edinburgh Castle, of a well-rigged ship flying the American flag at its stern was a symbol of a new struggle that was not to be appeased until the next century. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars were in progress. Uncertainty of invasion of this island was not allayed for some years. Burns was expressing the feelings in some of his poems. Anxiety and doubt were common.

It was into this confused world that adult education entered in a more organised manner than ever before, first largely by accident, but later by deliberate effort, sometimes on the part of the workers themselves and sometimes at the whim of a philanthropic patron. It is difficult

now to distinguish the peculiar characteristics of each body of whom some record is left. The records are very scanty. More often than not they exist in single copies of annual reports or books of rules. Religious education was the motive for many of them. For example in Edinburgh and Leith the Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor was established in 1786 (1) with the intention of giving religious instruction to the poor but the promoters gradually seem to have paid attention to the younger age groups and set about the erection of Sabbath Schools where it was found to be necessary to teach reading as a means to their higher purpose. In England, the Sunday School movement was flourishing, but, as in Scotland, it concentrated more on the young than on the old, although members of all ages attended in some cases. It was adult education with, on the one hand, a utilitarian purpose and, on the other, a mission.

The other type of adult education established at this time was distinctly vocational in its content and aimed at teaching and learning as much as possible in

1. Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor: Report: (Leith 1815).

the shortest possible time. In the west of Scotland Professor John Anderson who held the chair of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University from 1757 to 1796 became the pioneer of this kind of adult education. His class in the university was unusual in that it was open not only to ordinary students of the university but also to members of the general public. "Any person, not a student as said is, may attend the lessons of Experimental Philosophy without a gown." (1) Anderson enjoyed this class which met morning and evening twice a week during the university session and he was able to write in his will that as a result of the class "the manufacturers and artificers of Glasgow have become distinguished in a high degree for their general knowledge, as well as for their abilities and progress in their several arts." (2) It was the same will which charged his trustees to found "Anderson's University." A beginning was made in session 1796-1797 when Dr Garnett's lectures were advertised. They were to be open to women as well as men. Three courses were visualised. The first, a morning one at

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1. Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis (1854) vol.ii.p.578
quoted in footnote Kelly:George Birkbeck: p.20
 2. J.Muir: John Anderson, Pioneer of Technical Education:
(Glasgow 1950) p.147.

8.30 a.m. was a course of lectures on the arts and manufactures connected with natural philosophy, illustrated by experiments; the second was a popular evening course on natural and experimental philosophy in which "abstract mathematical reasoning will as much as possible be avoided" and the third was in chemistry and its application to the different arts and manufactures. The first year produced almost a thousand students of whom nearly half were women. Garnett was succeeded in 1799 by George Birkbeck, then a young man fresh from graduation in medicine at Edinburgh University. In the next year, he proposed what might be considered the beginning of distinctively workers' education in Scotland, although it would be wrong to assume that the workers had previously been entirely ignored. The origin is recorded in the minutes of the governors of Anderson's Institution for 22nd March 1800, "Dr Birkbeck presented a plan of the morning and evening courses for next session and also one on the benefit of the mechanic powers to be given gratis and calculated for working tradesmen." (1) This was to be a free class for which the "immediate impulse came from contact with craftsmen

1. Minutes as cited - quoted Kelly: op.cit. p.27.

whose services he required for the construction of scientific apparatus and whose occupation he sought to humanise by making it more intelligible."(1)

The early years of Anderson's University were marred by friction. The authorities tended to discourage Birkbeck's free class which enrolled some 500 students and the students themselves were also dissatisfied with arrangements made by the management. Meanwhile in the east of Scotland the movement for adult education was growing. The same technological changes were influencing management and men alike. New tools, new machines, and new processes were being developed rapidly and it was extremely difficult for the tradesman and craftsman to keep abreast of the times, despite the apprenticeship system. The School of Art organised by the Board of Manufactures had already existed some sixty years and there was a flourishing Edinburgh Institute described by W.H.Marwick from a pamphlet published in 1811. (2) This had been in existence for a few years and was for the study of science and literature "by divesting them as much as possible of technical phraseology." It is interesting to notice this proviso of simplicity of

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1. W.H.Marwick: Journal of Adult Education 1930: p.192
 2. ibid. 1932: p.391.

language which is still being used today in efforts to attract the general public to classes. No other record of this institute has been found but it seems to have flourished at the time. The newspapers of the time carry the advertisements of not a few privately run institutes. For example, in 1808, Mr Ingram advertised that, at the New Schools, Leith, he would begin "his winter classes for the mathematics on 19th October and on the 25th October he will begin two classes for geography, one for young ladies and the other for young gentlemen." (1) The Commercial and Mathematical Academy held classes in writing and arithmetic for two hours per day at 15s. per quarter. Bookkeeping, geography "with the use of the globes, etc." and astronomy were one guinea per course, and practical mathematics with two hours per day was a guinea per quarter. Another evening institution expressly for the clerical classes was run by Mr George Scott at 3 Catherine Street, head of Leith Walk, "for clerks, young accountants, and others who wish to acquire a perfect knowledge of calculation." (2)

Through all ranks of society there was a desire for

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1. Edinburgh Courant; 10th October 1808.
 2. *ibid*; 20th October 1808.

more education. There was in the fishing village of Newhaven an Education Society whose governors visited the school and questioned the children. In one of their reports there is the story, "We then met a fisherman, the parent of one of the pupils, well-known in the village as one of the most respectable, intelligent and well-educated of his class. He evidently took a deep interest in our proceedings and while we were in the act of examining the children on the meaning of what they had read, he at length broke out in nearly the following manner, "Eh, sir, you'll not know how little of this I understand and how much I miss it: I learned to read like my neighbours, but I never learned the meaning, and I find it a hard thing to turn up the dictionary for every word." (1) The times were right for adult education.

It was on 16th October 1821 that the Edinburgh School of Arts (which would in time become the Heriot-Watt College) opened its doors "to supply, at such an expense as a working tradesman can afford, instruction in the various branches of science which are of practical application to mechanics in their several trades so that they may the better comprehend the reason for each

individual operation that passes through their hands and have more certain rules to follow than the mere imitation of what they may have seen done by another." (1)

It was not intended that any particular trade would be taught in the school but the scientific principles on which the various trades depended. "He who unites a thorough knowledge of the principles of his art with that dexterity which practice and practice only can give will be the most complete and probably the most successful tradesman." (2)

While Leonard Horner was the prime mover in founding this school he admitted his knowledge of the work of Anderson and Birkbeck in Glasgow. He claimed that the impetus for the foundation was a conversation in a watchmaker's shop. The well-known watchmaker, Robert Bryson, in Princes Street, Edinburgh, "was asked the question, 'Have the young men in the watchmaking trade any means of receiving instruction in mathematics?' In reply he stated that they had not, as the hours and the fees of the mathematical teachers were altogether unsuitable for tradesmen." (3)

This led to the formation of a committee and an appeal for public subscriptions for a school which would not "give a mere smattering of

1. School of Arts: First Annual Report: 1822.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.* and School of Arts Watt Club pamphlet 1875.

knowledge as the amusement of a vacant hour but to afford solid instruction to those who will take it." (1) After the foundations of learning and the elementary principles had been established in the first year of study progress would be made towards more advanced instruction.

At the opening meeting, in the Freemason's Hall, in Niddry Street, at which the Lord Provost presided, Leonard Horner, the secretary of the institution, in addressing the students stated forcibly what has been said to many an evening school group since in connection with the development of classes. "The future success of the institution depends entirely upon yourselves. If you show by your diligent attention that you set a just value upon the advantage now held out to you, you may rely upon it that the public will not be backward in giving their aid to promote and extend the usefulness of the institution.... (The directors) indulge the hope, that other Watts and other Rennies will arise within the School of Arts." (2) 272 students enrolled by the first evening at a fee of 15s. for a whole course, twice a week from 8 to 9 p.m. for six months. The first year

1. *ibid.* 1822

2. *ibid.* 1822

enrolled 452. The classes were held in chemistry and mechanics while two gratis courses were given, one in veterinary art for farmers and the other in architecture. The report on the classes noted that one of the farmers who attended as a student travelled every lecture evening the distance of ten miles from the country. (Might this achievement not be compared with that of the gentleman who travelled from Arbroath and others who came from Berwickshire to each lecture of an agricultural law class organised in 1958-1959 by the Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Department?)

The low standard achieved in the elementary schools of the day soon revealed itself. The lectures on mechanics had hardly begun when some of the students found that their lack of elementary mathematical knowledge prevented their advancement. They received permission from the directors to form a class under one of themselves to teach gratuitously the elements. This class was arranged in five divisions, "each under the best scholar as monitor, going over on one night the lessons of the night before." (1) In the following year the mathematics class was established

1. *ibid.* 1822.

as a feature of the work of the college and no fewer than 150 enrolled. How assiduous they were is difficult to determine as the list of those who solved some twenty to forty of the problems set during the course numbered only twenty-six and only fourteen candidates offered themselves for oral examination. The analysis of the occupations of the original 452 students shows that no fewer than 111 were joiners or woodworkers; 38 were smiths of various sorts; 37 masons and 11 watch and clock makers. An important addition to the college was the library where some thirty to fifty men could be found at study each evening it was opened. "Though it did not carry the title," this college has been claimed as "really the first Mechanics Institute in Great Britain."⁽¹⁾ This claim is made, despite the efforts of Dr Dick, the schoolmaster of Methven in Perthshire, who, in 1814, seven years earlier, wrote letters to the Monthly Magazine suggesting "the establishment of literary and philosophical societies among the middling and lower ranks of the community, in every town and prosperous village, for the purpose of diffusing general information

1. Kelly: Birkbeck; op.cit.p.71.

as well as making improvements and discoveries in art and science."(1) Whether Dr Dick actually commenced classes is not known for certain.

By 1824 the idea of Schools of Arts and Mechanics Institutes providing essentially vocational instruction was spreading. "Since the last annual general meeting several institutions of a similar nature have been formed in different towns both in England and Scotland and we flatter ourselves with the belief that the good which our School of Arts has done has not been confined to Edinburgh alone but that its example has had some degree of influence in directing the public attention to a most valuable accession to those public seminaries which, by reducing the expense of education, are calculated to bring forth genius from every rank of the people."(2)

In the south-east of Scotland there was by now a Society of Arts at Haddington and another at Hawick but others followed almost immediately. Dunbar, North Berwick, Tranent, Dalkeith and Musselburgh, all had Mechanics

1. Monthly Magazine; quoted Kelly: op.cit.p.68.

2. School of Arts: Third Annual Report 1824: p.13.

Institutes in 1825 while there was a Society of Arts at Kelso. Later still, Leith (1826), Peebles (1832), Gala-shiels (1837), Duns (1840), Edinburgh (1848), Linlithgow (1851), Jedburgh (1851) formed Mechanics Institutions while Literary and Scientific Institutes existed at Kelso (1849) and Hawick (1851). (1) All were gone by the last quarter of the century. Some only lasted a year or two. It is difficult to get accurate information about their activities.

In October 1824, the Edinburgh Review, probably the most widely read journal of its time both in England and in Scotland, took up the theme of adult education. (2) From its inception it had championed the cause of popular education in schools. It held the opinion, however, that adult education was not so much the business of the state as that of the individual. "The fundamental principle which chiefly merits attention in discussing this subject is that the interference of the government may be not only safe but advantageous and even necessary in providing the

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1. Hudson: Adult Education 1851 and Kelly: op.cit. give lists from which the above have been taken. See Appendix I.
 2. Edinburgh Review; no.81; Oct.1824: "On the Scientific Education of Operative Mechanics" This article was reprinted for the use of the students of the Edinburgh School of Arts.

means of elementary education for children: but that no such interference can be tolerated, to the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people." (1) It was felt by the writers that the state had already, even at that date, had too much say in the education of the schools and that through adult education a government might step towards absolute power with "the most fatal consequences both to civil and religious liberty." (2) It is interesting to record these views and to compare them with the demands made for governmental financial support for adult education classes in 1960 and even for the development of extra-mural departments of some universities, though not Edinburgh, on direct governmental grants. The reviewers held that the people themselves must be the "agents in accomplishing the work of their own education." (3) They must be prepared to make sacrifices for the rewards of learning and they must not wait till there was a universal desire for this type of education. They, then, proceeded to explain the difficulties and how they might be overcome. Some of the writing has a familiar ring for 1960 although written 136 years before.

1. Edinburgh Review No.81: Oct.1824.

2. *ibid.*

3. *ibid.*

The "difficulties may all be classed under one or other of two heads - want of money and want of time." It was lack of financial support that prevented the ordinary people having sufficient books and instructors and the reviewers discussed over several pages of the Review the provision of cheap books. By the end of the eighteenth century cheap books were becoming available and to this availability of popular literature has been attributed part of the expansion of adult education. "By the end of the century a new zeal for learning was manifest and began to be met by the issue of popular literature and by a movement for the promotion of adult education.... the issue of a new educational literature in which scientific subjects were treated in a popular fashion - a means of extending the benefits of education to those unable to submit themselves to regular instruction.... " (1)

The reviewers wished to see the work-people combine into societies of twenty or thirty persons for their "mutual instruction and discussion" and they suggested

1. N.T.Walker: in Handbook of the First Biennial Conference of World Federation of Education Associations 1925: p.110.

that master workmen had the power to afford such groups great facilities by way of arranging hours of work and providing accommodation. "If any difficulty should be found in obtaining the use of a room from their masters there seems to be no good reason why they should not have the use of any schoolroom that may be in their neighbourhood." (1) There are in the proposed scheme suggestions similar to some of those made by the authorities during the recent war when discussion groups on current affairs were proposed to take place in workshops, barrack-rooms, and operational sites with section officers and non-commissioned officers as group leaders.

The reviewers then proceeded to discuss the costs and organisation of lecture programmes. "It seems to us advisable that, even where gratuitous assistance could be obtained, something like an adequate remuneration should be afforded, both to preserve the principle of independence among the working classes and to secure

1. Edinburgh Review: no.81:

a more accurate and regular discharge of the duty." (1)
 (For comparative purposes it is interesting to record their arithmetic. The cost of a course at £30 for hire of room, £40 for lecturer's salary, wear and tear of apparatus £20, assistant and servant £10, clerk or collector £10, fire and lamps £5, printing and advertising £15, amounts to a total of £130. They then calculated that if a hundred artisans spared one shilling per week for six months the bill would be met but if 120 submitted a shilling each for a year three courses could be organised and all could attend each course. (2) The fee charged for an adult education class today is still, in general, only one shilling per week after 150 years. In those days adult education had to be self-supporting. Today the grants from local and central government funds are considerable.)

There has been much discussion in adult education circles about the control of the subjects of study, and the organisation of the classes. In 1824 the recommendation was made that the students themselves ought to have the

1. *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*

chief share in the running of the classes. "This is essential to the success and also to the independence of the undertaking nor is there the least reason to apprehend the management: those only will take part who are desirous of their own advancement to knowledge."(1) This was largely the system employed in the mechanics institutions but in the Edinburgh School of Arts the entire management was vested in the fifteen directors. The students had no say except in so far as a few became members of committees such as the library committee and undertook a share of the duties there. It was "conceived that persons of education are better able to determine what course of instruction is best fitted to attain the objects in view and which are the most suitable books for such a library - that the students should have nothing to do but to attend to the instruction.... they themselves judging whether it is advantageous for them to lay out their money in that way or not." (2) This problem of government led to the creation in some parts of rival institutions. In Edinburgh there came into existence

1. *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*

a Mechanics Institution in 1848 but so little has been preserved about it that the nature of its work, other than its library is unknown. The same problem of the syllabus of study and the appointment of tutors exercised the Workers' Educational Association and to a greater extent the Labour Colleges in later times.

The development of adult education in the first half of the nineteenth century is well illustrated in the changes which took place in the syllabus and activities of the Edinburgh School of Arts. Like the Mechanics Institutions which followed it, it began with a flourish of trumpets of scientific instruction, along a comparatively narrow road for a comparatively narrow group of citizens, the tradesmen or workmen of the day. Numbers in such classes rapidly fell. By the third year, they had fallen from 452 to 317 and three years later to 225. The latter drop was explained by "the pecuniary distress which for the last two years has been felt more or less by every class of the community." (1) It was observed that the wages of joiners and masons who had always been a majority of the students fell from 26s. to 14s per week.

1. Edinburgh School of Arts: Sixth Annual Report 1827.

"The difference in one week would have nearly purchased an annual student's ticket." (1) The fees were accordingly halved to 7s.6d. per session. The numbers rose to 515 but this was only temporary, as two years later the roll was 239. The remedy proposed this time was a system of examinations and a certificate at the end of the third year of study. The successful students were to be designated "members of the School of Arts." (2) A year later, a familiar note was sounded. "It must be remembered, however, that the attraction of novelty is now in great measure passed by." (3) The numbers of artisans continued to fall and the enrolments show teachers and clerks in increasing numbers. The rigidity of the science curriculum was broken by lectures on English literature and the art of composition, introduced in 1837. This was established "at the urgent request of a number of students who represented the difficulties under which they laboured in writing their own language and the consequent inconvenience they often felt in the business of life." (4) Public and private economy

1. *ibid.*

2. *ibid.*: 9th Annual Report 1834.

3. *ibid.*: 10th Annual Report 1835.

4. School of Arts Watt Club Pamphlet: 1875: p.18.

followed in 1838, singing in 1842, French in 1844, but the era of the pure scientific, or, as we might call it, technological training was passing and in the annual report of 1838 we find the directors of the college claiming in high-sounding words that their intentions were to assist the workman "effectually to add to his comfort and happiness in exercising the highest faculties of his rational and immortal nature." (1)

To do this, the curriculum of study was not to be "narrowly confined to unfolding scientific principles." (2)

This was less than twenty years from the founding of the school. It was a definite change of policy for the directors in the first year of the school's existence refused offers of lectures on geography and astronomy on the grounds that they wished to restrict their activities to "subjects which will be directly useful to mechanics in the exercise of their trade" (3) and in keeping with the full title of the institution, "School of Arts for the Better Education of the Mechanics of Edinburgh in such Branches of Physical Science as

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1. Edinburgh School of Arts: 13th Annual Report 1838.
 2. *ibid.*
 3. *ibid.*: First Annual Report 1822.

are of Practical Application in their Several Trades." It was the same problem as has been discussed at recent conferences of the Scottish Institute of Adult Education and beyond Scotland, especially in the report, "Liberal Education in a Technical Age." (1)

Financial troubles continually occupied the attention of the directors. The school attracted donations from the public-spirited but the bulk of the income had to come from the small fees paid by the students. These were reduced to attract larger numbers and on each occasion increased the enrolment for a year or two. Application made to the national education committee and the government for pecuniary assistance failed.(2) The real philanthropists were the lecturers and teachers whose lecture fees could not be guaranteed. Yet the standing of the institution was so high that it has always been "fortunate in securing as teachers gentlemen of the first rank in their profession," (3) and in his early work on adult education, Dr Hudson claims "that the

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1. e.g. Scottish Adult Education 15: Dec.1955: et seq.
 2. Edinburgh School of Arts: 14th Report: 1840.
 3. School of Arts Watt Club Pamphlet 1875.

Edinburgh School of Arts is the only one in Britain deserving the title of a 'People's College.' " (1) By the 1870s the curriculum had been widely extended to include German, Greek, botany, geology, shorthand, and history, and the college was ready to become a technical institution to be taken over by the Heriot Trust as the Heriot-Watt College. It had gradually aimed at supplying for the workmen in industry so far as possible what the university did for the professions. Robert Bryson, the watchmaker, and Leonard Horner created better than they could ever have dreamed - an institution with an enrolment in session 1959-1960 of 589 full-time students, 639 part-time day students, and 2171 others in the evening, a total of 3399 students.

The School of Arts was not the only society offering adult education in the early part of the nineteenth century. The competition was considerable. The emphasis in each case was different. The School of Arts was directed to the artisan group which were called "workers" at a later period in history, a term which was perhaps

1. Hudson: History of Adult Education: (Longmans 1851): p.75.

the greatest hindrance to the advance of adult education in the twentieth century when politics entered the educational field and identified "workers" with a particular political party.

In the Reports of the Edinburgh and Leith Seaman's Friend Society there is mentioned an adult education movement not generally known. The society, a philanthropic one, founded to care for the needs of seamen at home and aboard ship, sponsored various activities but, towards the end of 1822, a plan was outlined to provide a Seaman's Academy. The scheme was ridiculed by some who heard of it as having "a tendency to raise the minds of seamen far above that station in which they are to move and so unfit them for their duties." (1) No printed publicity or appeal heralded its birth but after an announcement from the pulpits of the churches the Academy opened its doors on 16th January 1823. In its lowest course it taught English reading, writing and arithmetic, and in its second course geography, mathematics, navigation, "lunar observations and the use of the globes." (2)

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1. Edinburgh & Leith Seaman's Friend Society: Report 1823.
 2. *ibid*: Report 1823.

The Academy was opened for three hours from six to nine o'clock each evening. It opened each session with prayer and closed with a reading from the Bible. On Saturday evenings the seamen met to "improve themselves in the art of sacred music so that they may be better qualified for conducting this interesting part of divine worship on board their ships at sea." (1) Classes lasted from October to April, the season in which ships did not set out on long voyages.

By the fourth session of its existence the enrolment was 183, composed of mates, ordinary seamen and boys. Of these, 20 to 25 commenced the session with the alphabet and "such has been their assiduous attention that they now read English tolerably well; and write a pretty fair hand and also understand one or two rules of arithmetic." (2) The majority were in the next class but nineteen attended navigation. The zeal of the navigation instructor who was paid £50 per session is to be commended. "To forward their studies he has frequently, after preparing their exercises for the evening, called

1. *ibid*: Report 1827

2. *ibid*.

at their homes during the day so that time be gained when they came to the Academy with their lessons for examination or correction in the evening." (1) For their education seamen paid one penny per night in the first classes and twopence per night in the succeeding and advanced classes. A reading room was also added from the start. This was adult education for a specialist group which began, not as the School of Arts, at a level too high for many of the students, but at their own level, even with the alphabet.

At Hawick, by 1824, there had been a course of lectures in natural philosophy attended by 200 artisans, a very large attendance when it is remembered that the population of Hawick and its immediate neighbourhood was only about 4000 at the time. The lecturer travelled from Edinburgh. The Edinburgh Review noted that "it would seem a little more exertion alone is wanting to make the system universally prevail," and commended, a century in advance, the practice of the university through its extra-mural department in the middle twentieth century.(2)

1. *ibid*: Report 1827.

2. Edinburgh Review no.81: 1827.

"The plan of sending an experienced teacher to a place unable to provide one for itself is much to be commended. We would wish to see men of science often going about from town to town, labouring in this good work. They would entitle themselves to the never-ending gratitude of their country." (1) The reviewers went further still in their advocacy of the cause of adult education when at the end of their article, by way of conclusion, they asserted that no one was entitled to assume the style of a liberal minded person with intellectual pursuits "if he has done nothing in his own neighbourhood to found a popular lecture or, if the circle be too narrow for that, to establish a reading club." (2)

Competition with the School of Arts came principally from the Edinburgh Association for providing Instruction in Useful and Entertaining Sciences. It had been formed in 1832 and its principal lecturer was George Combe, the brewer's son who became known as one of the leading exponents and popularisers of phrenology. His trustees left monies which formed part of the endowment of the

1. *ibid*: footnote
 2. *ibid*: at end.

chair of psychology in the University of Edinburgh. Apart from the annual reports (1) there is a description of this institution in Lord Cockburn's Journal where he describes it as "strongly characteristic of the times.... a sort of popular unendowed college.... a very useful establishment giving respectable discourses very cheaply to a class of persons for whose scientific instruction and amusement there is no other provision.... It is gratifying to see hundreds of clerks and shopkeepers, with their wives and daughters, rubbing at the teats of science anyhow.... " (2)

Lord Cockburn also claimed in a typically Cockburn manner that the lecturers and students were "contumelious of colleges and rather more conceited of their knowledge than humble of their ignorance." (3) The subjects of instruction were wider than usual and included botany, geology, astronomy, phrenology and education as well as the more usual chemistry and natural philosophy. It is noted that if any lecturer failed to interest and instruct his audience he had little chance of being

1. Printed in the Weekly Chronicle.
 2. Cockburn: Journal: vol.i.pp.73 et seq.
 3. ibid.

re-appointed in a succeeding year. (1) The directors who included a jeweller, draper, agent, tea-dealer, two solicitors, silversmith, lithographer, printer, book-binder and bookseller had to appeal "to persuade their fellow-citizens that the study of mental and natural science is not incompatible with a steady attention to the other duties of life." (2) In the first year there were 705 students, with over a thousand visitors at different lectures. The numbers remained fairly constant showing that the venture met a need in the community at the time. Ladies were welcomed at the classes and a fair number attended. "Indeed the ladies of Edinburgh have earned a title to the highest estimation of the community by the spirit with which they have entered into the study of useful knowledge." (3)

The name was changed in 1835 to the Edinburgh Philosophical Association. The programmes became more liberal and included drama and art, harmony, juris-

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1. J.Simpson: Philosophy of Education: (Edinburgh 1836) Appendix iv: p.245. cf. Marwick: op.cit.p.399.
 2. Fifth Report of the Edinburgh Association for Procuring Instruction in Useful and Entertaining Sciences 1835.
 3. Simpson: op.cit. p.245.

prudence and what would be called current affairs today. The Association in 1846 became the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution with its rooms in Queen Street when Adam Black became the first president. As the century passed classes as distinct from lectures fell into the background and the institution became more of a social club than "in reality a popular college." (1) In its first year it had over a thousand subscribers. It certainly had many distinguished men as presidents and lecturers. Ruskin made his first appearance on a public platform here in 1853. Emerson, DeQuincey, Blackie, Thackeray, Dickens, Hugh Miller and Kingsley all lectured, to name only a few. Thomas Carlyle was president to be succeeded by W.E.Gladstone. By 1876 there were over 2000 members but eight years later, the directors were concerned about a deficit of £382. "It was due," they thought, "to several concurrent influences, besides two kindred institutions in the city, competing on the same lines for public favour, there was the increase of political and social clubs supplying telegraphic news, newspapers, books, etc. to members." (2) Actually the Institution

1. Anderson: History of Edinburgh: p.511.

2. Edinburgh Philosophical Institution: Report 1885.

subscribed to 130 copies of newspapers daily, every county of Scotland being represented. Finance dogged the members at intervals thereafter. To secure additional income, tickets of admission to single lectures were introduced in 1893: a branch reading room was opened at the Livingstone Hall in 1902 but was closed owing to a deficit in the first year: a literary society was founded in 1909. Still men of prominence lent support, Conan Doyle, Winston Churchill, Lord Curzon, Stephen Leacock. In 1910 the inaugural address was given for the first time by a woman, the Duchess of Sutherland. By 1915 the effect of the war, added to already heavy burdens, brought the suggestion of winding-up the Institution. It was to survive to the next war when, after a move to smaller premises, it finally closed down in 1950.

Another leading figure in adult education of the first half of the nineteenth century was James Simpson, an advocate, whose "Lectures to Working Classes" (1) was published in 1843 while he also issued books on education. He became involved at the start of an organisation described by himself. (2) Called by the somewhat lengthy

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1. J.Simpson: Lectures to the Working Classes on the Means in their Power of Improving their Character and Condition: (Edinburgh 1843)
 2. J.Simpson: Philosophy of Education: (Edinburgh 1836) pp.256 et seq.

title of the Society for the Diffusion of Moral and Economical Knowledge it was at once wider in conception than the School of Arts and directed to a more popular audience than the Philosophical Association. Among the subjects recorded are political economy, human anatomy, and philosophy of education. The aim was to charge a nominal fee of one penny so that no working man might have that "dependent feeling." (1) It was hoped that the attendance would be so large that the lecturers could be suitably remunerated. Lord Cockburn comments "the highest fee I ever heard of was a penny a lecture from each hearer, oftener a halfpenny, never more than what defrayed the expenses." (2) Lord Cockburn had little admiration for Simpson in his profession but acknowledged that "as an addresser of the lower orders, on the practical truths which they had the greatest interest in knowing and with a complete exemption from everything calculated to inflame, he has no existing equal that I am aware of." (3) (It is worthy of note that the profits of his books went to the erection

1. *ibid.*

2. Cockburn; *op.cit.* vol.ii. p.86. footnote.

3. *ibid.* p.86.

of public baths in the city - a social service of early date.) The managers of this society hoped that the workmen who attended the lectures would gain by lectures and well-directed reading "a knowledge of the principles which will enable them to improve their own temporal condition and increase their social happiness." (1) They wished to see the full development of the physical, moral and intellectual powers of human beings so that men could achieve whole happiness. They were concerned with the working class. Indeed, they "earnestly requested that none whose means are better will allow themselves to be induced by the lowness of the price to occupy the places of those for whom the institution is intended." (2) They believed in the maxim that knowledge was power and that an indispensable condition of the realisation of complete social happiness for society was the gaining of knowledge. Lectures were open to both sexes equally.

There was no intention to compete with existing adult educational bodies in the city. The contemporary comment by the managers on their rivals makes interesting

1. Simpson: op.cit. p.256.

2. ibid. p.257.

reading today. "In the School of Arts, excellent lectures are annually delivered on stated departments of physical science which are accessible to the working classes: but there the moral and economical condition of man is not made a subject of study. In the Philosophical Association this most interesting department of science has occupied a large share of attention: but in that institution the fees are fixed at a rate which, though very low, is still beyond the means of most working men." (1) The cost of education was a major concern at that time and the liberalising of the curriculum by including other than vocational subjects was under serious consideration. The idea of holding the lectures at a penny a time was encouraged by the exceedingly extensive sales of cheap periodicals, magazines, and courses such as those produced by the Edinburgh publishing firm of Messrs Chambers. It was thought that in a similar way an attendance of one or two thousand would be present at each lecture. Actually the attendance in the Cowgate Chapel averaged one hundred and after expenses were paid only £3.6s.5d. was left to pay the lecturers.

1. *ibid.* p.257.

These three great institutions of Edinburgh at this period were the models for many others in Scotland and England. The School of Arts was perhaps the first mechanics' institution and the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge for the Working Men attracted so much attention that the lecturers had to repeat their courses throughout the country and also in England. (1) This was an age when there was a strong desire for substantial knowledge both through adult classes and through the cheap publications, when people engaged in the active pursuits of industry took, as the Lord Chancellor of the time said, "the business of education, with energy, into their own hands." (2)

The city and the Lothians also had at this time their first circulating libraries. The Edinburgh Subscription Library began in November 1794. (3) About 1817 Mr Samuel Brown of Haddington received monies to create itinerating libraries but "after having, without success, endeavoured to induce some persons to unite as a committee to take charge of the libraries.... he found it necessary

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1. Simpson: op.cit: Appendix viii - pamphlet published in Manchester.
 2. quoted by The Scotsman with reference to the Philosophical Association.
 3. Edinburgh Subscription Library: Laws: 1794.

to take the superintendence of them himself, to prevent their lying useless in his ware-room." (1) By 1832 there were centres at the Southern Academy at Buccleuch Place, the Edinburgh Institution for Languages and Mathematics in Hill Street, at Midcalder, East Calder, Hawthornden, Clifton, Leith, Fala and Musselburgh in Midlothian, and at many places in East Lothian. Within another two years Mr Brown had received several large contributions and was enabled to establish libraries further afield in Scotland, in Roxburghshire, in Fife, Moray, Glasgow, Paisley and surprisingly in England, Ireland, Jamaica, St Petersburg, Canada and South Africa. To Mr Brown's libraries also goes the honour of having founded at least two mechanics institutions, those at Dunbar and Haddington. (2) Such was the success of the man who could not obtain assistance at the start. This was an age of expansion. Libraries soon began to spring up in connection with institutes and privately. There was one at Liberton and the address of the chairman in September 1833 has survived. It made no doubt about

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1. First Report of the Itinerating Libraries in Edinburgh, Leith and Midlothian under the Superintendence of Mr Samuel Brown: (Haddington 1834)
 2. J.W.Hudson: op.cit. p.198.

those whom it was intended to serve and began with a form of address that was not to become common for over a century.

"Fellow workmen, we, the members of the Libberton Library beg to lay the following statements and observations before you.... " (1) That library had commenced in 1828.

The library with the largest circulation in the United Kingdom in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Edinburgh Mechanics' Subscription Library, owes its origin in 1825 to three students of the Edinburgh School of Arts who were anxious to continue their studies during the summer after the classes had ended for the session. They wished the library to embrace a wider range of literature than that available at the School of Arts. They persuaded both Messrs Constable and Black, the publishers, to make a donation of books which were to be "for the use of all the working men of the city." The liberal attitude of the founders saw to it that books were not restricted to works of science but included most departments of literature including fiction. The membership increased to about 1200 who paid an entrance fee of five shillings and a quarterly subscription of

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1. Address to the Members of the Libberton (sic) Library to the working classes of the Parish of Libberton; (September 1833)

one shilling and sixpence. The library contained in 1850 nearly 18,000 volumes and the yearly issue amounted to some 200,000. (1) This library lasted longer than most of those established by institutes. Its membership, however, fell between 1886 and 1890 to only 273 members and in 1893 it was wound up. "It was probably crushed to death by its big but much younger brother, the free library, and by its retiring ways." (2) It had served its time and had lived up to the remarks of the report of the directors of 1859 who quote Dickens, "The Mechanics' Library is a self-supporting institute. It is not like many of their title which, by some sort of fatality, depend, not upon their own exertions but upon the bounty of others. It is lamentable to think, that while there is such an outcry and parade of what is doing for the people so little is done by the people." (3) Until 1959 the name of this library was still legible on the wall of Victoria Terrace, Edinburgh.

In Leith, it was the Leith Mechanics' Subscription Library, founded in 1845, which gave the impetus to the

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1. cf. Hudson: op.cit. pp.200-201: and catalogue now in Edinburgh Public Library.
 2. Edinburgh Evening Dispatch; 18th January 1893.
 3. Edinburgh Mechanics' Subscription Library: Laws and Catalogue: (6th edition 1859) p.vi.

founding of the Leith Public Institute in 1867, at that time the only institution in Leith for the benefit of mechanics and others of the industrial classes. It is doubtful, however, if classes were ever held in the institute. More likely it was just a lending and reference library with a book club and reading room. (1)

These schools and libraries are a reflection of their times, just as much as those of an earlier age reflected theirs. The industrial revolution had concentrated the population. Towns became overcrowded. The people had a low standard of living. They worked long hours in the factories and classes could not commence earlier than about 8.30 p.m. The labours of the people "no longer gave the joy which the craftsman feels in creation but was a monotonous exercise." (2) Their homes gave them little inspiration. Education was still voluntary. Reform movements were gaining impetus in many spheres but education was scarcely pursued nationally because of the problem of moral instruction and the power and influence of the church in the parishes. The churches

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1. Catalogue, Constitution & Laws of the Leith Public Institute and Library, 58 Tolbooth Wynd:(5th edn.1873)
 2. P.Cregg: Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1945:(Harrap 1950): p.227.

conducted most of the schools and supervised the work done in them but the qualifications and the ability of many of the schoolmasters were in question. New machinery was demanding more men with technical skill to operate and service it. The Border tweed manufacture centred at Gala-shiels developed from some fifteen sets of carding machinery in 1829 to over 225 twenty years later. In the west from 19 cotton mills at the end of the eighteenth century there were 134 in 1834 and 145 twenty years later. The twelve paper mills of Edinburgh district in 1773 had increased to twenty-two by mid-nineteenth century. During the same period railway development laid its spider web pattern of rail and sleeper across the country. From the time of the Innocent Railway, opened in 1831, for the next thirty or forty years, gangers drove their new projects through hill and over dale and stream. Education became one outlet from the filth, foul air, and muscular and nervous exhaustion of the daily toil. Leisure was something almost unknown but the ambitious and those who wished to rise above their virtual slavery to the machine attended courses, gaining therefrom intellectual recreation and enjoyment. There was no regular form of entertainment like the cinema of a century later. The day of the slow life and the community drama was past.

The influence of the church on the people, so strong in the previous centuries, was being challenged. In the country parishes the church was still the centre of the community life of the village but in the towns the mass of the manual labouring class scarcely gave a thought for things religious, so much so that Dr Chalmers declared, concerning thousands of the population of Edinburgh, that it was imperative "to excavate the population, firmly embedded in a mass of practical heathenism." (1)

It was an era of prosperity but the state was yet unwilling to give wide consideration to the social condition of the people. There were idealists who showed the way. Robert Owen tried to demonstrate at New Lanark how, by improvements in housing, sanitation, hours of work, wages, welfare and education, the people could attain a reasonable standard of life. He believed that character was influenced by environment and that environment should be controlled. He was almost echoing Erasmus centuries before, "*Communibus studiis agant omnes quod ad omnium ex aequo felicitatem pertinet.*" (2) Owen's principles

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1. Presbytery of Edinburgh: 23rd January 1834: cf. Simpson: op.cit. p.26 footnote.
 2. Erasmus: *Querella pacis*: "Let everybody work with common energy for what affects the happiness of all."

were more or less accepted by the end of the century but only after fifty years or more of unnecessary misery.

Nor was the established church able to give the leadership it might have done for it was beset with its own troubles and debates on establishment and freedom. The pages of journals like that of Lord Cockburn are full of references to the events which led to the Disruption of 1843 and the rise of the free churches. It was these free churches which were to father the cause of education vigorously both in the creation of day schools and Sunday schools. Their teaching was directed towards and based on the reading of the Bible but ability to read led to demand for instruction in writing and counting. Chapels grew up rapidly. For example, in the town of Peebles the established church found that it had to compete with the East U.P.Church built in 1791, the Relief Church (afterwards the West U.P.Church) in 1828, the Episcopal Church in 1837, the Free Church in 1843, and a Roman Catholic Chapel in 1850.

The churches became the centres of literary and other societies, where the middle classes met to gain some form of education. Mutual Improvement Associations

were common where young men and frequently also young women attended lectures often given by experts but more often by themselves. There was considerable discipline in the organisation of these societies and members were often subject to fines. In England some of these societies existed in the 1790s but in Scotland they probably developed a little later. These societies often met in church halls or under church auspices. One of the oldest, about which information has survived, was connected with the Baptist Chapel at Bristo Place, Edinburgh. It flourished about 1824 or 1825 for a few years, to be succeeded by another society about 1834. By the middle of the century it circulated a manuscript magazine which is still extant. It banned all discussion on political and religious subjects. (1) It lasted a hundred years to disappear in the 1930s. The Heriot-Watt Literary Society had similar aims but was associated with a college. Founded in 1868 as an extension of the English literature class of the college its membership was widened to include the general public. For ninety-two years this body continued to make a contribution to

1. Barclay: Bristo Place Mutual Improvement Association: (Edinburgh 1931).

the social and cultural life of the capital. Many villages had their local literary and debating clubs. That at Corstorphine, begun when the village was a slow journey from Edinburgh, has continued to the present through nearly eighty years. The Musselburgh High Guild and Literary Society was founded in 1886 and has met without interruption, even through two world wars, to hear informative lectures, hold discussions, enter into debates and to maintain a dramatic and social programme. The practice of debate in Mutual Improvement and similar societies encouraged young men and others to make themselves proficient in lecturing and oratory besides leading them into research into literary and other works. Many discovered their abilities in speech or with the pen in this way.

In the country areas the societies often had an agricultural bias as that at Saltoun, founded about 1800 by General John Fletcher. (1) In Lauderdale there was another under the patronage of the Earl. (2) There was a scientific association at Dalkeith in 1835 for the

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1. New Statistical Account: East Lothian: p.120.
 2. New Statistical Account: Berwickshire: p.16.

purpose of providing popular instruction in science for the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood at a moderate expense. In the first winter Dr David Boswell Reid gave a series of twenty-four lectures on chemistry to an audience of 309 to whom must be added 622 visitors - a large number for a town of the size of Dalkeith at that time. Writing privately, Mr Alexander Mitchell, who later became provost of the town, believed that the surge of intellectual activity in Dalkeith was a by-product of the excitement of the political controversy connected with the Reform Bill. "Coming as the lectures did shortly after a season of political contention, their effect was to remove nearly all the bitterness which politics had engendered and taught the disputants on both sides greater respect for each other, so that the success of the association became a triumph at once of science and of charity." (1) The success was to be short-lived as the parish minister tells us that it was discontinued after a few years "partly from a difficulty in procuring a succession of suitable lecturers and partly from a want of interest that arose among the townspeople." (2)

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1. Alexander Mitchell: Political and Social Movements in Dalkeith from 1831 to 1882 (printed for private circulation 1882): p.24.
 2. New Statistical Account: Midlothian: p.529.

But the influence of this scientific association was really to continue into the present, having a marked effect on the social life of the community in an unusual way. Mr Mitchell writes that the National Security Savings Bank of Dalkeith was formed in 1839 as an offspring of the association. One of the lecturers, Dr Thomas Murray, "having included a lecture on savings banks in his course on political economy, the directors were so impressed thereby as to adopt measures for establishing one in Dalkeith." (1) The date was 1839 and Mr Mitchell, as the then secretary of the scientific association, took the initial steps in its foundation. Adult education, in this case, started a movement largely philanthropically to benefit those who actually attended its classes, but gave at the same time a service to the wider community which may be compared with the provision of public baths in Edinburgh by Mr Simpson. (2)

The minister of Haddington in 1835 reported that the people of the parish had ample opportunity to obtain knowledge through the extensive library system but

1. Mitchell: op.cit.p.26.

2. supra p.84.

"persons so early at work in the morning and occupied with the labours of the field through the day, can have little leisure or in general inclination for literary pursuits when they return to their cottages in the evening, exhausted and weary." (1) Nevertheless there was a Mechanics' School of Arts, commenced in 1823, (largely through the influence of Mr Brown's Itinerating Libraries) where the usual subjects, physics, chemistry, mechanics, and economic science were taught. In the list of societies which held regular meetings there were both agricultural and horticultural societies. The religious educational side was represented by the East Lothian Bible Society and the Society for Propagating Christianity where the subscription was a penny a week. In Haddington there had also been the Gray Library for some hundred years, founded by the will of The Rev. John Gray who bequeathed his own valuable library to the town, a library which is one of the most valuable today in Scotland for its collection of rare Scottish books. (2) In distant Yarrow the shepherds had a debating society during the years around 1830 but it was discontinued because of

1. New Statistical Account: East Lothian: p.11

2. Edinburgh Evening News: 12th September 1959.

the difficulties of travel. (1) At Traquair in 1832 there commenced a series of "popular lectures on some of the more simple parts of science." (2) These were held in the school-room and are reported as having "called forth a very crowded audience." (2) Other classes, in the school-rooms of the period, have been noted at Longniddry where "an evening school is kept for those who are at work through the day." (3) At Aberlady there seemed to be a well-organised evening school for a population of only 973 people. Classes attended by about a sixth of the population were held in writing and arithmetic and "throughout the year two respectable females occupy a portion of their time giving lessons in needlework." (4)

The city of Edinburgh itself saw the rise of many learned societies at this period. The Literary Society of Edinburgh was founded in 1802. It conducted its business principally by way of debates, the subjects of which might still be found in the syllabuses of similar societies in 1960. "Are state lotteries proper?" "Should

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1. New Statistical Account: Selkirkshire: p.55.
 2. *ibid.* Peeblesshire: p.51
 3. *ibid.* East Lothian: p.197.
 4. *ibid.* East Lothian: p.258.

any crime but murder be punishable by death?" "Is polygamy favourable to population?" "Can war be justified when undertaken on any other principle than that of self-defence?" (1) The Wernerian Natural History Society was founded in 1808, the Caledonian Horticultural Society in 1809, the Society for the Encouragement of the Useful Arts in Scotland in 1821 (later to become the Royal Scottish Society of Arts in 1841) with the object of arranging a special course of lectures on a subject of general interest to be given by a specialist each winter session. (These lectures came to be known as the Keith lectures.) The Botanical Society began in 1836 and the Royal Scottish Academy in 1838 founded on an earlier institution started in 1819 by a number of gentlemen for the encouragement of the fine arts in Scotland. These societies all provided lectures: some established museums and libraries: all were endeavouring in a voluntary way to further adult education. Their subscriptions were higher than the fees at Mechanics' Institutions and their numbers of members more limited but they provided an avenue of education for those who wished to pursue the

1. The Literary Society of Edinburgh: Rules &c. 1807.

liberal adult education studies of their choice. Though some were very select in their membership these societies were for the better educated, largely the counterpart of the mechanics' institutions. They were the product of "a time when great efforts are making towards the general education of all classes and descriptions of men; and God forbid that anyone should suppose that there is any brand of education whatever from the acquisition of which any class should be excluded; and from the knowledge of which some benefit may not be acquired." (1)

But there were also those who struggled with the illiteracy problem of the day. The churches were anxious that the people could read the scriptures and many adult schools for this purpose were founded in England but few seemed to exist in Scotland probably because of the tighter grip over the people held by the presbyterian church. Dr Hudson held that the ministers of the Scottish kirk "are admitted into domestic life with an influence as potent as the consulting physician and are equally cognisant of all family complaints and disorders." (2) Dr Pole was the historian of the Adult School movement

1. quoted by Hudson: op.cit. from speech by Lord Liverpool: p.189.

2. Hudson: op.cit. p.74.

and emphasised that when the students in the adult school could read distinctly and readily passages from the Bible the work of the school had been completed and they should be dismissed. When later, writing was admitted into the curriculum the adults were to be seen laboriously copying out scriptural texts. A rhymmer of 1821 summed up the adult schools:

While numbers never taught in youth
In gladness now the word of truth
Read with facility.

Old age in spectacles appears
Bending beneath the weight of years
To learn the A.B.C. (1)

Later, these schools adopted the practice of "each one, teach one," used successfully today by Dr Frank Laubach in combating illiteracy in backward countries.

The far-seeing, however, saw that education was something which was for the whole of life which required careful preparation and development and not just for childhood. For example, when the Edinburgh Sessional School at Leith Wynd was founded in 1812 the teachers "were met by an obstacle which does not appear to have been originally anticipated to its full extent." (2) They

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1. Further Education Magazine: vol.i.no.10 (Jan.1948) pp.220-222 where verse is quoted. Cf. G.Currie Martin: Adult School Movement (1924) which quotes Dr Pole's rules.
 2. see note 1: p.103.

discovered that a very large number of pupils were "incapable of reading." (1) Their researches then found hundreds of children in this plight. On 1st April 1825 an evening school was opened for the benefit of "individuals more advanced in life" (2) who were "desirous to prosecute the advantages" they had missed earlier in life. It met every evening except Saturday and Sunday from eight to ten o'clock and the fee charged was three shillings per quarter or 1s.6d. per month. The branches of education taught began with reading and grammar and led on to language, arithmetic, writing and geography. Some country classes in East Lothian have already been noted. (3) It was the need of adult education at that time to teach elementary subjects like reading and arithmetic. Weakness in these was the brake on progress as the young mechanics of the School of Arts discovered. It was a level for much adult education for many years until the era of compulsory education in the 1870s. In many cases adult education meant elementary education. It was still in the first half of the nineteenth century a kind of charity offered to the people, to the deserving poor, by the well-to-do and the philanthropist.

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1. John Wood: Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School and the other Parochial Institutions for Education established in that city in year 1812:(Edinburgh 1828):p.22.
 2. *ibid.*p.30
 3. *supra* p.99.

Yet people were beginning to see that education was wider than charity and was a social consideration for the nation. The country was not yet, however, ready for it. Some factories and works, like Owen's at New Lanark, organised schools and it was from such as these that many of the professions were augmented. Promising young men became doctors, lawyers, teachers and clergymen instead of following a career as labourers in the factory. (1)

In his pleas for a national education in Scotland Dr Begg reported on visits to existing schools in 1849 by a parish minister. He felt there was a necessity for looking after those who were employed in factories and other works by day. In one school opened for this purpose there were 51 and in another 63 whose ages ranged from fourteen to thirty. "I feel it almost impossible to convey an idea of the utter ignorance of these poor people. One young man was asked, 'Did you ever hear of sin?' After some hesitation he answered, 'Yes.' He was then asked, 'Who takes it away?' He replied, 'The doctor!.....' " (2) In another

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1. cf. Belford: Centenary Handbook of E.I.S.: (1946) p.40.
 2. James Begg: National Education for Scotland practically considered: (Edinburgh 1850) p.6.

room there were 37 women of whom only seven could attempt reading and in yet another twenty were learning the alphabet, the youngest being 41 years of age.

The social reformers, philosophers and the philosophers often took as their text that social unrest would disappear when the population was educated and could understand how society was constructed and how its economic laws operated. James Mill was echoed again and again as the century advanced. "That he is a progressive being is the grand distinction of man. He is the only progressive being upon the globe. When he is most rapidly progressive then he most completely fulfils his destiny." (1) This progress was to be sustained through education. Through education, man, and especially the lower grades, would understand social conditions: their evils would be understood and perhaps even alleviated. The views of the early part of the century were forgotten. They had stated that the workers in industry "would not be educated above their class because their education would not be of the kind to enable them to climb out of that state of life into which it had pleased God to call

1. James Mill: Collected Essays: (1823):p.12.

them but would merely enable them to do their duty in that state of life more efficiently." (1) It just was not so, any more than at a later stage, as will be shown, did Albert Mansbridge prevent his students in the Workers' Educational Association rising above their stations or as R.H.Tawney put it in a speech in Glasgow, "What was wanted was a system of education which would not separate the man from his fellows but which would prepare him to serve his fellows: which would not take him out of his class but teach him to be of use to his class." (2) The artisans who sought scientific knowledge gained from the industrial revolution and its aftermath. Many worked their way up and eventually were the leaders of mechanical and scientific invention and discovery. George Stephenson was the son of a colliery engine-keeper and grandson of a Roxburghshire shepherd. Humphry Davy's father was a wood-carver.

On the other hand, historians tell of the squalor and vice which followed the industrial revolution. Strike and agitation disturbed the English scene more perhaps than

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1. H.C.Barnard: Short History of English Education 1760-1944: (University of London Press 1947) p.105.
 2. The Glasgow Herald: 18th October 1909.

the Scottish. The position was worse in the towns than in the country. (1) The country was better educated. The General Assembly of 1839 heard that it was not "in the instructed population of rural Scotland that the present day had found anything to fear." (2) A system of education was urgently advocated to provide the people "with stores of mental exercise and enjoyment, pervading all classes and combining intelligence at every step of advancement with the morality of the Bible." (3) The morality of the people and how it was to be influenced by teaching exercised the leaders of society and it was probably because of this question that the measures of the Education Acts were delayed. The question of the curriculum was constantly discussed and the place in it or out of it of religious education. Lord Cockburn records in his Journal the difficulties that arose from religious repulsions. He himself thought it clear that popular education should no longer be kept in the hands of the church which had not fulfilled its function in the last two centuries. He wished to keep religious teaching

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1. Report of Commissioners to enquire into Church Accommodation in Scotland 1836: p.4.
 2. General Assembly: Educational Report 1839: p.32.
cf. W.M. Gunn: Religion in connexion with a National System of Instruction: (Oliver & Boyd 1840)
 3. General Assembly: Educational Report 1839: p.32.

in any educational scheme for its moral value but he was not prepared, like many of his time, to let the church have control. He, like his fellows, looked forward to the time when the subject would be discussed in parliament and a new scholastic system born. (1) Other writers argued that the home was the centre of the life of the nation, that by adult education the parents and so the home could be improved and then the parents could better instruct their children. It was a reiteration of the Euripidean line when Hercules was made to say: (2)

When the home's foundation's laid askew
Alas! unfortunate offspring must ensue.

Evening schools grew in number in the next decade but they scarcely existed except in the towns. In the rural districts it was very difficult, just as it is today, to engage competent teachers to undertake evening work. Another factor which is still operative today was the seasonal one. Classes could only be held for an agricultural community in the winter and in the south-east of Scotland this still often means before Christmas as roads and weather become too difficult in

1.Cockburn: op.cit.vol.ii.p.306

2.Euripides: Hercules Furens:1261.

the early months of the year. The Commissioners appointed to report on the state of education in the country districts of Scotland in 1866 record that the illiterates never really read with pleasure and accuracy because the reading books available to them were too advanced. Such elementary readers as did exist were suitable for children in their subject matter while those more suited for adults in subject matter were too difficult. The Commissioners did commend, however, works schools such as those organised by Messrs Cowan of Penicuik which all workers had to attend up to the ages of 21 for boys and 22 for girls. These evening classes lasted sixteen weeks in the winter and cost nothing to the students.

V. EFFECT OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND:

The social condition of the people was changing in the middle of the nineteenth century. There had been a long period of peace. Reform Acts had been passed in 1832 and in 1867. The postal service and the telegraph had been introduced. The railway had brought the country and the town closer together. The repeal of the corn laws had steadied prices. The homes of the people were being made more habitable. M'Adam had revolutionised road construction; Telford had given the pattern of bridges and canals; street were lit by gas; Simpson had discovered chloroform and Lister was working on his antiseptis experiments. Factory Acts had made the lot of the ordinary worker easier. Cooperative societies, friendly societies and trade union developments had made him socially more secure. The attitudes of the people at all levels to education were changing. Opposition to instruction for all and the fear that the educated workman would be a danger had passed but the workman himself began through his organised groups to regard with suspicion education which was offered

by philanthropists and charitable organisations. No longer the masses "were to be governed, to be manipulated, to be the source of supplies.... to become habituated to such coercive controls as should impress upon them the power and worth of those who governed." (1) Education for the child was an accepted idea but adult education came in for scrutiny.

Besides the parish school there was also in many villages the Free Church school. There was in ordinary education a growing desire to remove the control of education from the church by the establishment of a national system under the control of the state. This did come by degrees. The Education Act of 1861 removed the condition that schoolmasters must sign the confession of faith of the established church and transferred to the universities the examination of the qualifications of teachers. The secularisation of the schools was in its first stages but there were still to be some ten years of voluntary schools before the passing of the Education Act of 1872 and the creation of School Boards. Events in England, like the great exhibition at the Crystal

1. G.L.Jackson: The Privilege of Education:(Boston 1918)
p.3.

Palace in 1851, the founding of people's colleges and the London Working Men's College and so on, were reported in Scotland and men sought to have similar institutions in Scotland. What Sir Walter Scott had prophesied thirty years before at an annual meeting of the Edinburgh School of Arts summarised the attitudes which demanded more and more facilities. Sir Walter had claimed that anyone "should consider it as great a crime to hide such knowledge (i.e. scientific knowledge) from the people as it would be to hide from them the light of the sun if we had that in our power." (1) Ideas of evening schools or continuation schools of the pattern which they came to have were rapidly forming. An Apprentice School Association formed by a voluntary body of citizens and several of the kirk sessions of Edinburgh tried to establish evening schools for apprentices as the name suggests and one of the town councillors of Edinburgh, John Hope, formed a number of evening classes for those who had had no elementary education. (2) There was still emphasis on elementary education for adults who had had little or

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1. Sir Walter Scott: speech at Annual Meeting of Edinburgh School of Arts: 1st June 1824.
 2. City of Edinburgh Education Week Handbook 1936: p.145
cf. John Stewart: Memorandum on the Administration of Education in Edinburgh: October 1921: p.36.

no scholastic education. The day had not yet come for the development of cultural education among the lower classes as they did not yet have basic knowledge to appreciate and understand what the middle and upper classes had already achieved for themselves in their various learned, scientific and literary societies. Among the arts there was a considerable following in Edinburgh. Edinburgh had had musical festivals earlier in the century and the Scottish Vocal Music Association organised classes at various levels. In 1858 its activities were extended to provide lectures for teachers and governesses. Of the lecturers at this school perhaps the most famous was T.L.Hately, the first precentor of the Free Church General Assembly, who has been reported as teaching huge classes of five hundred or six hundred people. Indeed, it is on record that nine hundred attended his class at Greenock. (1)

The value of technical education to the state, if not inspired by the exhibition of 1851, was perhaps a by-product of the demand it created for more efficient and better workmanship. In the 1860s the government recognised the need to give grants to bodies such as the mechanics'

1. The Scotsman: 9th November 1858.

institutions in aid of scientific instruction but it was a long time before cultural subjects attracted grant. The standard of work, by modern standards, was still very low and the attainment of those who attended in most cases almost negligible.

By 1870 financial troubles were facing most of the voluntary bodies providing educational facilities. Mechanics' institutions had declined in Scotland through lack of support by sufficient numbers of students to justify the expenditure. Problems arising from the decline in income from fees and increase in expenditure faced the governors. Some institutions like the Edinburgh School of Arts found that other than purely scientific subjects had to be introduced into the curriculum. The philosophy of educating adults was sound enough and it was strong enough to encourage further trials and most of the leaders of thought had come to a conclusion in common with Adam Smith that the state should be interested in the education of the ordinary people because "in a commercial society their mental training is more important than that of people of rank and fortune." (1) Public opinion had

1. Adam Smith: Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations.

the idea that education was the first step on the ladder of progress. People looked at inventors, factory owners and others who had risen from humble origins by their self-education and they considered that the same opportunity would do the same thing for all. The employers thought it would do their workers good. Unfortunately the employees did not see things in quite the same way nor did their associations. The proverbial expression that you may lead a horse to the water but you cannot make him drink was applicable. It was a false assumption that all the workers wanted this education. It had proved a false assumption earlier in the history of the mechanics' institutions. It was to prove a false assumption again with regard to the Workers' Educational Association. These bodies lost the support of the worker almost as soon as they commenced. The workers' associations tended to foster an antagonistic feeling towards anything not created by themselves. This same feeling is seen in the propaganda issued by the National Council of Labour Colleges. "It would be better for men to be deprived of education than to receive their education from their masters; for education, in that sense, is no better than the training

of cattle that are broken to the yoke." (1) It was not adult education that was despised, but only adult education sponsored by those who were not termed workers. The same attitude was taken to education as to anything which appeared even vaguely to be connected with what was called capitalism, an attitude of mind which still persists a hundred years later although conditions have again changed. A few workers' bodies, however, did encourage their members even with flowery sentiments. "Get intelligence instead of alcohol; it is sweeter and more lasting," wrote the magazine of the flint glass makers in 1850. (2)

The Edinburgh Working Men's Club and Institute came into being in 1864 to afford "facilities to the working men of the city and others for social intercourse, for reading periodical literature of the day, for obtaining such information as is to be derived from books and from lectures of interest and importance." (3) No evidence has been found of any classes or courses of instruction directly organised by this club which still exists as a social centre but, at one period, it gave facilities to the

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1. Hodgskin: quoted Margaret Hodgen: Workers' Education in England and the United States: (Kegan Paul 1925): p.71.
 2. Flint Glass Makers Magazine 1850 quoted by Webb: History of Trade Unionism: p.199.
 3. Edinburgh Working Men's Club Prospectus.

Edinburgh Branch of the Workers' Educational Association to hold meetings on its premises. (1) Despite, however, all the well-intentioned efforts of official and voluntary bodies, the printed report on the condition of the poorer classes in Edinburgh in 1868 makes sad reading, as a commentary on the life of the time, some hundred years after the birth of the great new town of Edinburgh. The ordinary adult population, as a whole, was far from educated to a minimum standard although Edinburgh was rich in men of learning and leaders of society. One of the tables in the report shows the standard of education of those convicted at the Police Court of Edinburgh in 1868. (2) Of a total of 951 adults only six per cent are reported as being able to read and write well. Some 19% could neither read nor write; 18% could read but not write while the remaining 57% were listed as being able to read and write imperfectly. The standards of the tests are not known but the evidence is clear that there was still a great need for elementary education among the adult population.

A new reform act was passed in 1867, another step in

1. see Appendix iv.
2. Report on the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Edinburgh: (Edinburgh 1868).

the transition to democracy as defined today. A redistribution of parliamentary seats and a household suffrage gave thousands of workmen and middle class workers a vote for the first time. W.E.Forster carried through in England the Education Act of 1870 which made provision for children to go to school and levied an education rate. In 1872 the Scottish Education Act did the same for Scotland. School Boards were set up in every parish and burgh and schools were made independent of church control. The Scottish Act was better than the English one for it was intended to provide education for "the whole people of Scotland," not limited to elementary education nor merely for the children of the working classes. Secondary education had also its first opportunity although the first grants were very small. Continuation class education became a reality. School Board public evening schools were begun in 1873 and the total number of pupils enrolled in those opened in Edinburgh was 983. (1) These classes were for young people above the age of fourteen years. Specifically adult education was omitted and adults continued to gain instruction through the voluntary agencies

1. John Stewart: Memorandum on the Administration of Education in Edinburgh; October 1921: p.36.

which continued and others which were on the point of growing up. Thus a step was taken which would change the pattern of adult education with the next generation. Reading, writing and arithmetic would be taught in the elementary day school and a curriculum of these subjects would no longer be required at adult level, although they still had a place in the education of the soldiers of the first world war. (see Appendix XIII) The adolescents and young adults of the next generation would not be faced with the problems which hindered their predecessors of 1821 at the Edinburgh School of Arts who could not profit by the instruction offered as their arithmetic was so bad. Although the establishment of evening schools by the School Boards was voluntary, most of them did concern themselves with those pupils who had just left school. That others, older students, attended is clear from minutes and reports such as that of a teacher at West Fountainbridge Evening School in 1877. "Six pupils 18 to 27 years of age were unable to do the work of standard II when they entered the class.... Four of them were unable to do any arithmetic on the slate.... Many of the pupils were well advanced in their education and devoted their time largely to those branches which have a

special bearing on their daily occupation.... " (1) The first Edinburgh School Board must also have been interested in cultural education, however slightly. A lecture on Old Edinburgh was given by the convener of the Committee on Evening Schools on 15th December 1876 which "enlivened by many amusing stories was highly instructive and secured throughout marked attention." Local studies have been a feature of post-school education in Edinburgh ever since. Today some of the classes on Edinburgh Past and Present, organised by the University Extra-Mural Committee and the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association, attract well over a hundred students.

This period of the Victorian era saw also the early movement of the emancipation of women. The Edinburgh Essay Society was founded in 1865 by a small group of ladies under Miss Sarah Siddons Mair (who later became Dame Sarah) which developed into the Ladies' Edinburgh Literary or Debating Society to give women an opportunity to develop their powers of debate and discussion. University education for women was the theme of some of the early discussions. The ladies canvassed so quickly and so

1. Edinburgh School Board Minutes: 1876-1877.

energetically that in 1867 the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association came into being for the purpose of providing for women "means of higher education as nearly as possible the equivalent of that provided at the University for men only." Classes were mostly conducted by the University professors who would have conducted them had there been mixed classes in the University itself. The first class was in English literature under Professor Masson which attracted 265 ladies in 1867. Physics, logic, mathematics and other subjects were soon added. The number of students remained about the 300 mark for most of the existence of the association. By 1877 preparatory classes had to be held in St George's Hall at Randolph Place to help ladies in their study for the Edinburgh University local examinations. For the convenience of ladies residing at a distance a correspondence course was inaugurated which proved nearly embarrassing because of the large number of enrolments. All these activities of adult education continued to provide facilities extra-murally for ladies until, twenty-five years after their inauguration, women students entered the Old Quadrangle of Edinburgh University to take their places on the undergraduate benches equally with men.

The Edinburgh Literary Institute was begun in January 1872 and held for many years classes in the English, French, German and Latin languages as well as mathematics. This body also held day classes in the afternoons for ladies in the same subjects. Classes lasted an hour and the sessional fee from November to May was one guinea per class. (1) The society, like most of its contemporaries, also had a news-room, a reading room and "telegraph intelligence." Referring to the opening of this institution which was located in South Clerk Street the chairman said he had been told that fifty years before there had been established in that part of the town a literary institution consisting of a newsroom and reading room. This was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Blacket Place but was of a very humble character and had only a brief existence. (2) No trace of this earlier institution has been found; no reference appears on the maps, in directories or almanacs available for the period. It is possible that that there may have been confusion with one of Mr Brown's itinerating libraries. The Literary Institute, almost a younger sister of the Philosophical Institution, also organised series of

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1. Edinburgh Literary Institute: various prospectuses.
 2. The Scotsman: 11th January 1872.

public lectures which included many famous names. Interest in classes diminished and the Institute became more a social centre. Its end came in 1900 when, "It having been proved to the satisfaction of the company that the company cannot by reason of its liabilities continue in business it is hereby resolved to wind up the company voluntarily." (1) It met the fate of many other organisations which were launched with such high ideals and intentions. The public gave support for a while and for some unknown reason withdrew that support, probably in favour of something newer.

The impetus of state education with a more educated population was accompanied by the foundation of a new group of societies for specific cultural purposes. The Pen and Pencil Club began in 1879; the Scottish Text Society in 1882; the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in 1884; the Scottish History Society two years later and the Bibliographical Society in 1890. These bodies like those societies founded earlier in the century contributed considerably to the opportunities for adult education.

Universities themselves were also changing. The

1. The Scotsman: 22nd September 1900: advertisement.

standard of instruction given in the internal classes was rising. Schools at which children remained longer were undertaking more of the elementary work which previously universities tackled in the first year. Professors even complained about this but they had to develop their curricula. The universities of England were also undergoing change. It was in 1873 that the first university extension lectures were inspired by Professor James Stuart of Trinity College, Cambridge. He had the vision which became university extra-mural education and is said to have been influenced in it by his mother in 1866 when he had a discussion with her about creating "a sort of peripatetic university the professors of which would circulate among the big towns and thus give a wider opportunity for receiving such teaching." (1) The subject was raised among the evidence given before the Royal Commissioners appointed to enquire into Scottish Universities. They had been considering the merits of extra-mural classes for academic degrees when some of their witnesses introduced the new aspect of what today we mean by university extra-mural teaching. "This new aspect relates to a proposal for the extension of teaching by university professors to persons not members of the

1. W.H.Draper: University Extension 1873-1923:(Cambridge University Press 1923) p.9.

university.... It has been represented to us that it might be desirable to require to encourage the professors to give the benefit of literary and scientific instruction to many who, either from want of means or from their engagements in other pursuits, cannot become university students, but to whom it might be an advantage to have an opportunity of profiting by the instruction which university lectures afford." (1) The scheme of this kind, instituted on their own account by some of the professors of St Andrews University during 1875-1876 with considerable success, was highly commended. In this movement which received the name of University Extension there were the beginnings of the cultural adult education which is commonplace today. It has not, however, been a continuous process or development. For some thirty or forty years in Scotland, university extension was to be prominent, but by the second decade of the twentieth century it had largely passed away. In England, Cambridge lecturers established classes throughout the country and pioneered for the rest of the British Isles. Some of these classes were the cause of institutions being created, some of which in time became university

1. Report of Royal Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Universities of Scotland: (H.M.S.O. 1878) p.84.

colleges and universities with their own extra-mural departments. It was not long before intensive study over a number of years either in extended courses or in groups of courses demanded its reward. This had been so with the Edinburgh School of Arts which, to encourage its students, had created the degree of Member of the School of Arts. In the English university extension movement the reward for passing an examination at the end of a three or four years' course of study was a vice-Chancellor's certificate. This scheme developed further in the case of London University which, in 1908, developed its present scheme of granting university diplomas in the humanities after specific courses of study and passing the appropriate examinations. (1)

The Scottish universities, largely on the initiative of Professor Patrick Geddes, then of Dundee, had under consideration a university extension lecture scheme similar to that of Cambridge and Oxford. At first any work done was outside the universities but, after a little experience, the universities were persuaded to discuss the matter and agreed, at a meeting in March 1887, between representatives of the senates of the Universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh,

1. London University Calendar.

to support this kind of teaching. The Edinburgh University Lecture Extension Association was formed on 4th May 1888 with the Lord Provost, Sir Thomas Clark, Bart., as Chairman of the meeting, supported by Professor S.S.Laurie, and a committee including members of Parliament, peers, clergy and members of the Chamber of Commerce and other bodies, besides ^{the} Senatus of the University. The first report of the association was optimistic. The managers held that they were fully equipped to supply any demand which might be made upon them for courses of lectures and that those courses already held had been successful. (1) Almost a thousand people attended the classes which varied in number from fifty to sixty to over two hundred. The type of student came from the "professional and trading" classes rather than from the artisan and labouring groups. The managers were hopeful - but the hope did not become a reality - that they would persuade the latter to attend in time. "It surely goes without saying that if the extension movement in England has been appreciated by those classes, much more will it, when fully developed and organised, be welcomed and utilised in Scotland." (2) The organisers

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1. Edinburgh University Lecture-Extension Association:
First Annual Report: April 1889.
 2. *ibid.*

were to realise that what happened in England was no clear indication of what would happen in Scotland, especially in education. Courses, consisting of twelve lectures each, were sponsored by a local committee who had to guarantee a fee to the University Extension Association of £32, the refund of local outlays and the lecturer's travelling expenses. All the lecturers had to be approved by the Senate of the University and all suggested were not approved. They had to belong to one of the categories, members of the Senate, professors' assistants, first-class honours graduates in their subjects, doctors of science, or graduates with special eminence in the subjects they proposed to teach. Lectures were offered in academic subjects and did not aim at popularity in the ordinary sense but at a treatment of the subjects which would be attractive to all desirous of carrying their education beyond secondary school level. There was offered from the first voluntary examination at the end of the course and a pass certificate to those who satisfied the external examiners was issued. A critic of the lectures claimed that if the lectures were popularised and the courses shortened they would have greater success. Professor Laurie, in his reply, made the view of the committee of management clear. "It is, I

suspect, because the lectures constitute courses of instruction on an academic level that they are not universally sought after. One or two lectures of an 'attractive' kind would no doubt be welcome everywhere, especially if given for nothing. But it is no part of the duty of a university to provide popular lectures and lecturers or to be in any form amusing.... " (1)

The method of organisation was to establish a local committee. Letters were sent to some six hundred provosts, town and county clerks, school boards, and persons of influence but the initiative of forming the committee was to be theirs as distinct from the method of forming Adult Education Councils at the present time where the university takes the initiative and, with the local education authority, convenes a meeting of likely persons. (2)

The organisers were disappointed. Their dreams did not come true although lecturers from Edinburgh took part in courses in Stirling, Perth, Kirkcaldy, Blairgowrie district, Arbroath and Montrose. Inquiries also came from England. Locally, a class was held in each of two

1. The Scotsman: 5th January 1890.

2. Scottish Adult Education: no.11: pp.24 ff.

successive years in association with the Philosophical Institution, the directors of which became a local committee for the purpose. Another on the chemistry of air and water was arranged for the Edinburgh and District Trades Council. The latter class was granted the use of a university classroom, had an enrolment of 65 of whom seven gained certificates. After four years little progress had been made and it was decided to suspend the association's activities. The managers regretted that the County Councils "applied their funds to technical education," and "preferred to rely on local schoolmasters and others for instruction in the prescribed subjects." (1) No local committee existed in the fourth year of operation in the Edinburgh University area. "It is an ominous fact that in the southern division which includes such populous centres as Hawick and Galashiels.... (nothing).... has been done since the movement began." (2) (It is interesting to note that for the last few years no cultural extra-mural classes have been held in Hawick through lack of support of the inhabitants although vocational subjects have been possible.) The failure of the Extension Lecture Association

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1. Edinburgh University Lecture Extension Association:
Fourth Annual Report: 1892.
 2. *ibid.*

may have been due to its organisation and its relative expense for in these days there were no grants from central or local government funds nor indeed from the university although individuals did subscribe to the general funds. Even then the accounts show that although a sum of £50 was envisaged at the start to finance the administration in the first year only £47 was collected and a later appeal for £300 was unsuccessful. The cost of a class to a local committee might be in the region of £50 in all. To recover this sum, if there was no subscription list to back it, required an enrolment of a hundred students at ten shillings each which was quite a large fee for the ordinary worker. In a small country area or even one of the burghs in south-east Scotland a hundred was a large number of persons to attract to a class. Even today no class in country districts enrolls such large numbers and seldom are classes so large held in the towns. The numbers in such classes were and are more likely to range from a dozen to three dozen students. Another difficulty in a country area is to choose a subject in which a large enough group are interested to justify forming a class. The time for the extension movement might not have been yet right in south-east Scotland. It was also comparatively easy to

gain entrance to the universities of Scotland compared with England. "There had not in Scotland been the same pressing need that there had been in England for starting the extension scheme because in England a comparatively small proportion of the people went to a university. In Scotland the proportion was much higher. In England only one in 5,000 went to a university while in Scotland one in every 800 attended, which was a higher proportion than was found in any other country in Europe." (1) It was probable that there was not a sufficient number of other persons whose general education was advanced enough to enable them fully to profit by and to appreciate the lectures. After all, education had only been compulsory for fewer than twenty years and secondary education was still in its infancy. There were, in addition, throughout the area, besides the church associations, many local societies which organised lecture programmes and several trusts which subsidised single and short groups of lectures. These were popular and of less academic value than anything that the university would recognise.

In England, also, extension courses met with a dis-

1. The Leader: 18th April 1889.

appointing apathy from the same sections of the populace. Originally Professor Stuart and others intended that extension lectures should appeal to the more educated workman, cooperator and woman to give them the advantages of some university education while pursuing their ordinary vocation. Soon, however, as was found in the mechanics' institutions earlier, there was a change of students which has usually been ascribed to economic circumstances and a declining prosperity. There was a tendency as the courses had to be self-supporting, to direct them towards those who could pay. This was not unnatural and even today may be observed in connection with some adult education. Although it may have come in at a later stage, as in the case of other adult education, "it is fair to say that, in the hey-day of the movement, there was no evidence of any distrust of university extension teaching by working-class bodies." (1) Perhaps the real reason for the non-attendance of workers might be that a certain level of intelligence and a certain minimum educational background were required by the students if they were to benefit by the adult education offered. That intelligence and background were perhaps higher than were possessed by those who ceased early to attend or by

1. Peers: Adult Education: (Routledge 1958) p.56.

those who never even tried to profit. It was probably the real reason for the fall of the mechanics' institutions. It was probably also the real reason for the change in the nature of the students of the Workers' Educational Association and other classes. It is probably also the real reason behind the movement today for the abolition of the 11+ and other examinations in England and similar trends in Scotland. The lower intelligence groups wish to hide their inabilities in the society which is preached to them as classless where no one person will be differentiated from any other by certificate of ability, intellect or otherwise. University extension and classes of academic standing are too difficult for them. Yet some kind of adult education must be provided for them and this has been done largely by the local education authorities in their further education schemes, in craft classes, hobby classes, elementary language instruction and the like. The National Council of Labour Colleges has found the same tendency in their courses. Figures for the south-east of Scotland are not separately available but have been stated to account for just under 5% of the total. Of the 15,935 postal courses organised in the whole of Britain in 1958 (1) no fewer

1. National Council of Labour Colleges: Report and Statistics 1959.

than 2,855 were in English and 3,217 in arithmetic, some 38% of the total courses registered. Subjects next in popularity were vocational in nature, time and motion study and works study, some 14% of the total. Economics now only attracts about 5% while cultural subjects like history in its many forms and geography attract under 2%. International subjects and the Commonwealth had fewer than a dozen students in all aspects if Esperanto which attracted 267 students is omitted. It is, of course, true that the subjects offered are mainly "those of direct usefulness to Trade Unions and the Labour Movement and the figures should be looked at in that light." (1) The need for basic education in the tool subjects of English and arithmetic is still a clamant one in 1960 with at least one large section of the adult populace, the clients of the National Council of Labour Colleges. This basic weakness is also perhaps the real reason why more of the ordinary members of trade unions do not attend extra-mural or similar classes. It is also a revealing commentary on the work of the schools of the country that such a high proportion of men and women are voluntarily studying English grammar and composition, article writing and arithmetic,

1. *ibid.*

subjects in which they were supposed to have acquired proficiency at school.

Patrick Geddes and his friends were no doubt disappointed with the lack of success of the University Extension Movement as they visualised it but to Patrick Geddes goes the credit of being the founder of the summer school movement which was to change the educational world of the twentieth century and by mid-century was to be so extensive and varied in its character as to appeal to nearly every taste socially and culturally. Patrick Geddes brought to Edinburgh the first summer school in Europe in 1887. Each summer thereafter there came to the city men prominent in the liberal arts and in scientific learning who stimulated discussion among themselves and the international group who came to listen to them. Geddes hoped at these schools to show the inter-relation between arts subjects and scientific subjects as part of a cultural whole. His biographers tell of the enthusiasm of those who were accommodated in the University Hall which he had earlier sponsored and opened. Patrick Geddes had intended these summer courses to fit "the student for the higher activities of life by letting him actually share in them." (1) He was

1. Mairret: Pioneer in Sociology: (Lund Humphries 1957) p.57
 of. Boardman: Patrick Geddes, Maker of the Future:
 (University of North Carolina Press 1944) pp.157 ff.

continuing the spirit of the motto he had chosen for University Hall, "Vivendo discimus" - "We learn by living." He often had little support or encouragement from those in a position to assist him. He was helping to make Edinburgh the international city it has now become but he got little assistance from the civic authorities. In 1892 they made a grant but this generosity lasted only three years. The University offered no assistance. Indeed, his courses often ran at a loss and that loss had to be found out of the Patrick Geddes personal exchequer and, probably largely because of this, the venture had finally to be abandoned. Geddes did hope by his summer schools, as by his Hall and Schools of Technical Instruction, to bring about a measure of reform in universities. He introduced into the summer school the seminar method of study where it was the duty of the tutor to guide the student in the literature of the subject. He introduced activity into the groups by encouraging drama, dancing and music, as well as practical work in the various lecture subjects. His was the moving spirit of the ten years the courses continued in Edinburgh.

"Geddes était de ceux qui contribuent à élargir les idées de l'humanité, même s'ils manquent parfois de précision et de rigoureuse exactitude. Avec beaucoup d'esprits et de cœurs comme le sien, l'atmosphère de ce pauvre monde se

ferait plus chaude et plus lumineuse, la haine diminuerait entre peuples et individus, nous serions tous plus heureux."(1)

When the Edinburgh courses ceased Geddes organised similar ones in conjunction with an exhibition at Dublin, and at London and in India. He had, however, sown better seed than he knew for his ideas of summer schools to create friendship between groups and nations through the medium of study were to increase in numbers as the years advanced. When the Workers' Educational Association came to Edinburgh, among the early activities of the young branch was the organisation of a party of several members to attend the summer school organised by the joint committee for tutorial classes in the University of Durham. (2) From then on summer school attendance was a feature of the branch although it did not actually organise a school on its own account. Gradually the Workers' Educational Association in Scotland extended its activities to include many one-day, week, week-end or longer study schools, often in holiday centres, and this practice continues today. Schools at holiday centres and overseas became popular between the world wars and since the second world war their number has

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1. Boardman: Esquisse de l'oeuvre éducatrice de Patrick Geddes: (Montpelier 1936) p.164.
 2. W.E.A.Minutes: 12th May 1914.

become so great that a special pamphlet has been issued annually listing most of them and the popular Sunday press carries articles and advertisements about many more. Every type of body seems to organise some kind of summer course, holiday course, study tour, "holiday with a purpose," and so on. In the Edinburgh area, the Extra-Mural Committee, through its classes in the appreciation of art, has so far successfully organised such study courses in Holland, Paris, and Italy when lectures and demonstrations have been given in the various galleries by expert lecturers. Glasgow University Extra-Mural Department has organised many courses in literary and scientific subjects in several centres at home and overseas and, in addition, includes annually a summer course for the training of tutors. The universities have also collaborated with different trade unions or trade organisations in arranging residential courses. Such have been those organised by Edinburgh Extra-Mural Department for the Dock Labour Board.

Another movement which was to encourage adult education, besides the education of children and youths, was the Cooperative Movement. It was a growth from the men of Rochdale in 1844 who were also concerned in the birth of university extension classes and the tutorial class system.

In Edinburgh, the cooperative movement was founded in 1859 when St Cuthbert's Cooperative Association was started. Almost from the first there is evidence that the directors were interested in some form of education. Much of it was in the nature of propaganda meetings but by 1886 a literary society had been formed. (1) The subjects discussed were by no means all connected with cooperation. Some sixty members enrolled, no small percentage of the total membership of the association which numbered just over 3,000 at the time. The literary society suffered the same ups-and-downs as similar organisations at the time. Essays were read and debates were held but, within two years, the organisers were writing, "We need scarcely remind you that the healthy vitality and usefulness of the literary association can only be maintained by the earnest support of all who are anxious and willing to aid in promoting the cooperative movement both in principle and practice." (2) That the members who attended took themselves seriously there is no doubt. For example, in 1898, subjects under discussion included, "The British in Egypt," "The Use and Abuse of Athletics," "Autolycus - one of Shakespeare's Characters,"

1. St Cuthbert's Cooperative Association Report: 1886.

2. *ibid*: 1888.

"Good Health," besides cooperative subjects. (1) Within a few years thereafter the society vanished from the annual reports only to be reborn in 1908 for a year or two and then to vanish for ever. A library was also formed in 1886 and the annual reports indicate that it was well patronised, although there are periods when the Notice to Members in the annual reports would indicate that it could be better used. The library was made available "through the generosity of the president." (2)

Courses of public lectures were the mainstay of cooperative education and propaganda in the early days and often attracted considerable audiences. Lectures were mainly by leading cooperators or their friends but well-known names like Patrick Geddes appeared in the lists of speakers. He spoke on "Cooperation and Social Progress." (3) As the membership increased the public meetings were held in districts and were designed to instruct the members in the workings of the association. Musical and choral associations were formed in 1895 but this work was mainly developed and continued for juveniles. The women's guild movement was formed in 1895 and is one of the oldest continuing organ-

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1. *ibid*: 1898
 2. *ibid*: 1887
 3. *ibid*: 1888

isations for the education of women on a voluntary basis. The women took cooperative education seriously and have organised throughout the last sixty-five years classes not only in many cooperative subjects, but also in business procedure, chairmanship, public speaking, dramatic art and handicrafts subjects. Classes have been organised both in the evenings and in the afternoons. During the second world war period afternoon classes became popular and have continued into the 1950s.

By the end of the century it was realised that many of the members examining the accounts and balance-sheets of the association did not understand them. In 1897 classes were started in bookkeeping and auditing and, slightly later, no member was allowed on the board examining accounts who had not satisfied the examiners. (1) Lists of members were published who had passed the examinations. There was an incentive to learn. In 1900 a new rule was added to the association's constitution. "There shall be a special committee appointed for educational purposes, consisting of the chairman and four members of committee.... The fund at the disposal of the educational committee shall be applied for the furtherance of cooperative principles amongst our members or in the district, by the holding of

meetings or the distribution of cooperative literature or for any purpose conducive to the health, instruction or recreation of the members or their families or any other purpose the members may direct.... " (1)

The following year saw the start of an adult educational class as understood today. In 1901 classes in 'Industrial History and Citizenship' began in High Riggs with twenty-six students, of whom two were women. The average age of those attending was twenty-nine. In the next year the class was held in the Scrivener Hall. The students who passed the examination at the end of the course, to the satisfaction of the examiner, received a certificate signed by a member of the staff of Ruskin College, Oxford. (2) By 1903 Ruskin College was anxious to attract Edinburgh students and offered to double any subscription the local cooperative society would give to send a promising student to the Hall. The comment of the educational committee is worthy of note as it reiterates what has so often been said or written about the opportunity of higher education in Scotland. It is worth repeating for this new source. "As we have no funds available for this purpose we could not avail ourselves of

1. *ibid*: 1900.

2. *ibid*: *passim*.

the offer and as Mr Carnegie's bequest has made it possible for students in Scotland to obtain the fees to enable them to get a university education, very few of our members will care to take advantage of the offer." (1) Here was a cooperative society refusing the offer of political education at a workers' college in favour of the broader university training. Vocational subjects, bookkeeping and the history of cooperation became increasingly important for members and employees. Examinations of the Cooperative Union were conducted from 1905 and it is noticeable how often Edinburgh students won prizes and awards of free attendance at summer schools, at Oxford, Cambridge and elsewhere. In 1906 one of the students won the Hughes Scholarship to Oriel College for a four year course of study. Managerial study was increasing in importance. To emphasise the value placed on it the board of directors decided that after 1907 no one would be allowed to sit for the manager's certificate who had not passed the appropriate examinations in cooperative industrial history and bookkeeping. The first of these subjects never proved popular in Edinburgh. The period after the first world war saw the addition of many more vocational subjects like ticket-writing, window display,

1. *ibid*: 1903.

theory of salesmanship, and classes at a still lower level for apprentices and junior salesmen. This group of classes was finally transferred in 1932 to the Edinburgh School of Salesmanship where they have continued under a special liaison committee. (1)

While adult education with women had comparative success, men's work, except in vocational education, was neither so extensive nor so successful. Apart from the literary association a men's group was formed in 1918 to disappear in 1921, re-form again in 1930 and in 1938, and to disappear completely with the second world war. Esperanto had an ephemeral success in 1918 and in 1919 and the association's class in Industrial History and Economics in 1918 amalgamated with the Workers' Educational Association's class in the University.

A somewhat similar report could be written of work by the other cooperative associations in the south-east of Scotland. Technical education came generally to be provided by the local education authority. Women's guilds were active and summer and week-end schools were held. Cultural

1. *ibid*: *passim*; cf. Edinburgh School of Salesmanship: Log Book and annual syllabuses.

work for men has been negligible. The cooperative movement, however, for three-quarters of a century, has provided a valuable form of adult education, probably less necessary on general educational lines today in view of the facilities offered by the education authorities but still valuable for the education of its members and employees in cooperative practice, history and philosophy.

VI: ADULT EDUCATION IN SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY:

By the end of the Victorian era a generation had passed through the schools of compulsory education. The country seemed to be at the height of her power and wealth and influence. Victorian civilisation and Victorian prosperity seemed things that would last for ever. To outward appearance all seemed stable and secure. The early part of the century had seen the revolution of steam and steel and the face of Britain was changed from an agricultural community to an industrial one. Britain had outgrown her pains. Her illiterate population was fast becoming literate. The next industrial revolution, however, was fast beginning, just as important socially as the first. The power of electricity was being harnessed and the internal combustion engine was beginning to come into common use. The motor car had become a reality and flight in a heavier than air machine a risk but a possibility. These two single items were destined to make more change in the next half century than the invention of steam had done in the whole of the previous century. The social structure of the country was also changing. The Fabian tracts had been issued and the

Labour Party had been born. It was no longer true that "every boy and every girl that's born into the world alive, is either a little Liberal or else a little Conservative." (1) Factories had been accepted as part of the industrial scene. Factory Acts had been passed. Though they regulated hours of work these same acts regulated hours of leisure. Hours of leisure were to increase as the new century opened. With the increase came an educational problem. Volumes came to be written on the right use of leisure. Robert Owen, decades before, had given an answer but Owen was well ahead of his time. Social reports like the Rowntree reports and reports of Royal Commissions shone the spotlight on the destitution of the lower groups of society. The ruling classes in the professions and business accounted for only about an eighth of the population of Britain. They had about half the nation's wealth among them. (2) Women had only just been admitted into full Scottish university life (in Edinburgh in 1893, although Queen Margaret College in Glasgow opened its doors in 1879). The conflict between capital and labour was beginning in Britain.

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1. Gilbert and Sullivan: *Iolanthe*: 1882; Act ii.no.1.
 2. cf. *Adult Education*: vol.26.no.3.p.180.

Into this state of society came new education acts and the extension of the continuation class system of education. The Scotch Education Department wished to encourage the development of classes for the youth who had left school. A circular of 1901 urged the introduction of such subjects as citizenship, "the life and duties of the citizen and certain others (i.e. subjects) which have no special relation to any particular occupation but rather concern the individual as a member of the social community." (1)

Besides this extension of liberal education, technical education gained considerable impetus. There was urgency to teach the principles of science and art applicable to industry, - a reflection of the old Board of Manufactures in 1760 - but the courses were to be of a general nature and not to include the teaching of any particular trade or industry. It was this last ideal that adults wished and which they were to achieve in the next quarter century. It was the twentieth century that was to give vocational training its greatest encouragement and opportunity. By the Education (Scotland) Act 1908, School Boards were

1. Scotch Education Department: Circular 320: dated 1901.

given definite responsibility for the further education of adolescents and Edinburgh appointed an organiser of continuation schools. At the same time advisory committees were formed to help with the development of curricula and the approval of equipment for courses of instruction. Continuation classes expanded rapidly. Many were really classes for adults rather than for juveniles but because of the manner of reporting statistics it is difficult to separate them out. By the outbreak of the first world war in 1914 there are records of classes in even lonely country districts in biology and chemistry, many languages, physiography, agricultural science of many kinds, nautical subjects and literature. For example the inspector's reports for Berwickshire in 1912 and 1913 record agricultural subjects at Duns, Foulden, Hutton, Edrom and Hume, with navigation at Burnmouth and Eyemouth. The former group were arranged in conjunction with the Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture and the latter in collaboration with the Leith Nautical College. (1)

It was in the same period of time that the Workers' Educational Association made efforts to extend its influence

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1908-1912.

to Scotland. Albert Mansbridge had created his new movement in England in 1903, the origins of which have been much reported elsewhere and are omitted here. (1) It was a growth out of the University Extension movement and the cooperative educational system. It expanded rapidly in England and it was natural for the organisers to try to win Scotland for the movement as well. The ground in Scotland was perhaps less promising. In Scotland education had been much longer a tradition for the ordinary man. Secondary education was older than in England. In 1903 only three to six out of each thousand children proceeded from elementary to grammar school. (2) It was easier for a Scot to enter a university. University education in Scotland was less expensive and as a result a far greater percentage of Scottish youth found its way to the university classrooms. In addition the continuation class system of Scotland was very much more highly developed in town and country, and, as has been shown, was liberal in its outlook. It had shown continuous growth for thirty years or more.

An abortive attempt, late in 1909, was made to start

1. e.g. Mary Stocks: op.cit.

2. Adult Education: vol.26.no.3.p.186.

a branch of the Workers' Educational Association in Glasgow. A large meeting was held in St Andrew's Hall attended by 364 delegates from 182 societies of which 52 were trade unions, 44 friendly societies, the trades councils of Clydeside towns, university, school boards, and 25 other general societies. Resolutions were passed forming a branch but there was opposition from some of the unions. The Glasgow Herald noted that had it not been for the "excellent judgment" of Sir Donald MacAlister, who presided, the meeting would have failed when some of the delegates "with passionate fierceness" attempted to pass irrelevant resolutions. The newspaper added that the tactics were typical of the attitudes of some of the delegates to educational organisations. "Unless it gives them exactly what they desire, unless it returns to them, in more effective shape, through approved text-books and teachers, their own preconception, they will have none of it." (1) An influential committee of over forty members was formed but the organisation did not exist by the following year. Success came in Edinburgh in 1912, and a modest beginning was made with classes in history. (The story of the start of the Workers' Educational Association in Scotland and its subsequent development in

1. Glasgow Herald: 18th October 1909.

Edinburgh is given in some detail at Appendix IV as no history of the movement in the area has so far been written.) The different methods of obtaining financial grant for educational classes in Scotland and England led to difficulties at the start. While in England the Workers' Educational Association could attract direct grant from public funds, in Scotland such grants were only given through a school board as local education authority. The Workers' Educational Association in Edinburgh had therefore to bring its classes under the aegis of the School Boards of Edinburgh and Leith and so they have continued up to the present time. There were advantages and disadvantages in the system. While in England the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association could decide what classes it proposed to conduct, in Scotland the school board or education authority decided what classes the Workers' Educational Association would be allowed to organise. The school board also decided the length of the courses and the minimum number of students required to justify a class. This practice freed the Workers' Educational Association from much of the anxiety of financing classes which were paid for by the school boards but it also meant that in times of strict financial economy the continuance of Workers' Educational Association

classes was in danger, at the mercy of town and county councillors who might or might not be interested in adult education. The Workers' Educational Association in Edinburgh, however, has been fortunate in having a succession of sympathetic education authorities who recognised the need for adult education and generally adopted the annual suggestions of the association. It is significant that from the inaugural meeting on 26th October 1912 prominent members of the University of Edinburgh identified themselves with the movement. A partnership of University, School Board and Workers' Educational Association Committee was quickly formed and, although rifts occurred from time to time, when, for example, in the early days, the University charged too much for the use of rooms or the Education Authority increased fees or curtailed the number of classes, the bond is one which has been strengthened throughout its almost fifty years' existence.

Although many other associations were unable to continue their activities after the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, the Workers' Educational Association in south-east Scotland carried on its work, first on a restricted scale, but, as the war years advanced, with an ever increasing programme. Considerable incentive was given to the movement when

Viscount Haldane of Cloan, that great apostle of adult education, came to Edinburgh in September 1917 and captured the press with his lecture on "An Educated Democracy." (1) The platform party included the Lord Provost and the Principal of the University. Lord Haldane had been greatly impressed by the work done by Mr Mansbridge and his Workers' Educational Association and paid them a lasting tribute. As a result the Workers' Educational Association of Edinburgh had the stamp of approval put upon its work and was able to go forward knowing that it had the support of the city and the university. The University then granted the use of more lecture rooms free of charge and the city allowed classes to be organised during the summer term as well as during the winter and spring terms. The arrangement for that visit was a master stroke of organisation and an act of faith on the part of the small branch. It was, too, in 1917 that the report of the Scottish Education Reform Committee was published in which it was advocated that the university should be the intellectual centre of its educational area and should "lend all its resources and influence to promote the higher education of the working

1. The Scotsman: 29th September 1917: and other papers of similar date.

population." (1) The committee considered that no scheme of educational reform would be complete which did not provide for that higher education and "for the development of a dynamic desire for a fuller life among our citizens generally." (2) It is significant that it was the university which was chosen to fulfil this task of promoting the wider outlook and of equipping the adult working population in the solution of the social and industrial problems of their future.

In succeeding years Lord Haldane devoted himself more and more to the cause of adult education. He urged the development of the function of the universities by extra-mural activity. He was anxious to encourage universities to set up centres of training and centres of teaching in industrial and rural areas. "The principle is a simple one. It is that the universities should be asked to undertake.... to train a larger body of university tutors and assistant professors than at present, and that of these a sufficiency should go forth to teach extra-murally." (3) Like others before him, Lord Haldane visualised workers in

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1. Reform in Scottish Education - Report of the Scottish Education Reform Committee: (Edinburgh 1917) p.156.
 2. *ibid*: p.120
 3. The Glasgow Herald: 2nd February 1922.

their hundreds coming at the end of a day's work to undertake systematic study under highly qualified tutors in the evenings. He held the view that as "the workman cannot go to the university, the university must go to him." (1) He saw in adult education a political purpose as well as a social one. He wished to use adult education to bring about what he called an enlightened democracy. "The question of the education of the democracy thus becomes the question of how to get the most intelligent foreign policy and the best solution of social questions.... The abstractness and the mechanical forms of the solutions today embodied in the various labour problems are the outcome of the lack of consciousness of mental equality. Given even a progressive approach to such equality many causes of friction will disappear." (2)

The columns of The Glasgow Herald for the next week or more were full of the comments, apologies, criticisms and replies to the thesis put forward by Lord Haldane, nearly all from leaders of education in the country, nearly all throwing light on the extent of post-school education in their respective areas. Some were critical. Most showed

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1. Morgan: Makers of Scottish Education: (Longmans 1929) p.255.
 2. The Glasgow Herald: 2nd February 1922.

Scottish caution and could be summed up in comments like those made by the chairman of the Aberdeen Education Authority.

"Higher education can be acquired only through prolonged and strenuous intellectual effort. Of such efforts all are not and never will be equally capable. Non cuivis contigit adire Corinthum. But in Scotland.... all may freely get the education and instruction suited to their needs if only they will seriously apply themselves." (1)

That the Workers' Educational Association in the 1920s was a real live force in Edinburgh can be gathered from the list of activities organised under its leadership outside the ordinary classroom. There was a flourishing discussion group which met fortnightly and a choir as a supplement to the class in the appreciation of music. This class, conducted by Professor Tovey, was perhaps the largest class the Association has ever had in Edinburgh, of 316 members in a single session. The drama study class also produced a Bernard Shaw play as an additional activity while frequent visits were made to museums and art galleries outwith the lecture hours. Tutors and students alike vol-

1. The Glasgow Herald: 4th February 1922.

untarily gave up Saturday afternoons and evenings to take part in field excursions to places of interest or to collect specimens for geological or natural history classes. In addition, during the summer, audiences of up to 250 attended public lectures given by distinguished speakers and artists. No wonder the Edinburgh Branch of the Workers' Educational Association was the largest and probably the most active in the movement.

The position in the country districts round the capital was not so rosy. Various literary and debating societies struggled for their existence. There was virtually no support for organised adult education in the mining areas of Midlothian and West Lothian. In 1920, H.M. Inspector of Schools regretfully reports, "Picture houses and other counter attractions are proving disastrous to the rural continuation classes." (1) The position appears to be similar forty years later when the organisers of classes substitute for 'picture houses' the word unknown in 1920 'television.' It has been doubted if this analysis of the situation is true. Is it not perhaps that the adult population of these areas are indifferent to organised education

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 1920: p.22.

of any kind? Their general education which many of them had 'endured' for the allotted number of years has not been deep enough to maintain their innate curiosity and desire to learn. They have not had enough basic training by teachers who inspired them to seek for themselves the higher branches of literature, science or art when they left school and reached a more mature age. The path to culture depends on their efforts and demands perseverance, inspiration and determination. The highway of mass entertainment is easier and needs less effort. The cost of culture to the ordinary man is measured in pence and shillings whereas the cost of entertainment is in florins and half-crowns. Yet the opportunity to obtain culture must be given even if it is rejected. When classes are cancelled because of insufficient enrolments or attendance of those who might have attended it is a matter of great regret that by such action perhaps some James Watt or David Livingstone is deprived of getting just that extra learning which would make the difference whether he continued in obscurity or rose to fame and achievement. It may, however, be that adult education in a village classroom is different from adult education in the university classroom, although given by the same university lecturer. There is an atmosphere of learning, research and

free expression of opinion about a university. There is an aura of inspiration which cannot easily be reproduced outside the university classroom, however hard or uncomfortable its benches. There is a prestige that is not easily transplanted. There is something which seems to improve the spiritual life of the individual which then passes out into the social life of those around.

Perhaps it was for reasons such as these last that the Workers' Educational Association in Edinburgh made such rapid progress in the period between the two world wars. They were difficult times for adult education. Party politics were creeping into adult education and causing division. Liberalism in politics had been eclipsed and Britain had had her first Labour government. Great emphasis had been laid on education for the so-called workers. The Trades Union Congress of 1925 had discussed "working class education." It reported an agreement between the Workers' Educational Association, Ruskin College, the National Council of Labour Colleges and the Cooperative Union and outlined a wide scheme of adult education for the working class community. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress was given power to take over Ruskin College and

the London Labour College and the trade unions were to be encouraged to arrange classes and schools with the Workers' Educational Association and the National Council of Labour Colleges. The purpose behind these moves was to coordinate the thought of the workers along distinctive lines for the ultimate control of industry. The object was stated "to provide working-class education in order to enable the workers to develop their capabilities and to equip them for their trade union, labour and cooperative activities generally to the work of securing social and industrial emancipation." (1) It was further agreed that tutors used in the conduct of the classes would be trained at classes and colleges recognised by a national education committee of the Trades Union Congress and that they were all to be members of their appropriate trade unions or professional organisations. It was at this point that the Edinburgh Branch of the Workers' Educational Association parted company with the movement as a whole. It could not accept the suggestions implicit in the agreement with the Trades Union Congress. It persisted in the non-political, non-sectarian nature of the movement as founded by Albert Mansbridge and his friends. Although the agreement never

1. Minutes: also newspapers e.g. The Scotsman: 12th January 1926.

really became operative the members of the Edinburgh Branch withdrew from the general body of the Workers' Educational Association and formed a new association with the unfortunately confusing name of the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association. (The history of this split is given in more detail in Appendix IV.) The new Edinburgh association retained its tutors and its membership complete and continued with the provision of liberal education on an ever increasing scale. Its action was highly commended by the local education authority and the press at the time. There were three other branches in the south-east of Scotland at this time and the movement was to suffer the loss of other two. The Bathgate branch ceased activity in 1926 and the Hawick branch which had been struggling went out of existence. The council of the Hawick branch, worried about the low attendances of students at lectures and classes, met to discuss the future but when the proposed arrangement between the Central Council of the Workers' Educational Association and the Trades Union Congress was discussed the branch "reluctantly came to the conclusion that.... it would now be practically impossible to continue." (1) The political issue accelerated the decision.

1. W.E.A.:Hawick Branch: Seventh Annual Report: 1926.

The proposed agreement did not come to pass. This was probably due, in part, at least, to the strong opposition of a conference of the Association of Education Committees, the County Councils Association, the Association of Municipal Corporations and the London County Council. These bodies in England made it clear that "courses of study assisted out of public funds must aim at freedom from party bias and from any flavour of political propaganda." (1) They insisted that the only tests by which a tutor's qualifications could be judged were his knowledge and experience of the subject and his ability to impart the knowledge. They held that courses aided from public funds "must be open to all students who desire to take them and are able to profit by them." (1) The attitude of the Edinburgh and Hawick branches was vindicated but the decisions were too late to affect the secession already made.

Trade Union education has for long been associated with the Workers' Educational Association. Many unions affiliated with the movement centrally and through the branches. Those so linked with the Edinburgh branch before the secession are listed at Appendix IV. In 1919 the Workers' Educational

1. Education: 29th January 1926.

Trade Union Committee was formed largely by the energy of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. Soon after other unions joined and it was possible to embark on an extensive educational programme which included summer schools, one day schools and weekend schools, correspondence courses and classes. Scholarships were offered; grants were provided for class deficits; full-time tutors were employed. A Scottish division was founded in 1920 and a full-time tutor appointed who continued in office till 1932. The Labour Standard of 1928 records the first venture in the south-east of Scotland, a one-day school of two sessions in the Naval and Military Institute, Picardy Place, Edinburgh. (1) From then on there has been a succession of schools mostly at North Berwick and in Edinburgh, under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee. The machinery used is that of the Workers' Educational Association and so are gained any advantages obtainable through local education authorities. It has been claimed by the critics that the Workers' Educational Association in so far as it is concerned with adult education is not a fit body to deal with trade union education as if trade unionists were not adults and the types of education were entirely different. R.H.Tawney

1. Labour Standard: 11th February 1928.

answered them, "Trade unionists are human beings before they are trade unionists: and the wider their outlook as human beings the better trade unionists they will be." (1) The future is uncertain in mid 1960. A number of the larger unions have appointed education officers and now finance schools for their own members. This reduces somewhat the money available to the voluntary bodies associated with the work. The Trade Union Council have again had the subject of education for their members under review and memoranda have been submitted with a view to some kind of coordination. The first coordinating scheme was the one which lost the Edinburgh branch from the Workers' Educational Association movement. Another scheme was shelved in 1946 through lack of agreement. In the present scheme, under consideration, it is proposed that the Workers' Educational Association will continue a separate existence while working in cooperation with a national committee and other bodies in the field.

The third body mainly concerned with the education of trade unionists is the National Council of Labour Colleges. It came into existence some fifty years ago and strengthened

1. Jubilee Conference of W.E.A. 1953: address by R.H.Tawney.

its position by organising many classes and instituting correspondence courses where classes were not practical.

While the Workers' Educational Association found its strength in a partnership with the universities and endeavoured to teach an impartial education where all sides of the question were discussed the National Council of Labour Colleges rejected the university and the local education authorities as providing lecturers "learned in the educational culture of capitalism." (1) For the National Council of Labour Colleges the tutors like the students were miners, railway workers, clerks and the like who had educated themselves or had been educated at Labour colleges or classes. Classes were organised in many centres in the Lothians area and were independent of grants from either the national or local exchequer. Their finances came from the trade union educational funds. In session 1922-1923 there was an enrolment of 1,011 students in 27 classes in Edinburgh, Leith, Musselburgh, Tranent, Prestonpans, Gorebridge, Newtongrange, Tarbrax, West Calder, Stoneyburn, Bonnyrigg, Broxburn and South Queensferry. (2) The instruction was partisan. There was no hope of liaison with the Workers' Educational Association for the National Council of Labour Colleges had passed

1. J.P.M. Millar in Daily Herald: 24th October 1925.

2. Forward: 5th May 1923.

at its first general meeting in Manchester in 1922 the quite unacceptable conditions of cooperation with any other body, "(a) that all classes and tutors be controlled entirely by trade unions, trades councils, or other working class organisations, and (b) that the definite aim of all such classes be the education of the workers with a view to equipping them for the class-struggle and aiding them in their fight for the abolition of capitalism." (1) The position had equally been elaborated by Mr James Maxton, M.P., when the universities were trounced. "Education today was radically and tragically false from the working-class standpoint and the common good and the average university poisoned the minds of those receiving it." (2) The answer had already been given in the Edinburgh Evening News. "Any course of reading or study, whether in theology, law or economics, that lays down a dogmatic point of view, whether of orthodoxy in the university or of heterodoxy in the Labour College is propagandist or sectarian rather than educational. It is not to the educational interest of the student to have imposed on him as a dogma the practical infallibility in economics of an Adam Smith or a Karl Marx." (3)

1. Daily Herald: 8th March 1922.

2. The Glasgow Herald: 28th December 1923.

3. Edinburgh Evening News: 11th August 1922.

It was impossible to effect any reconciliation for there pervaded every discussion the suspicion and fear that a liberal education was something inspired by the capitalist and devised by him to maintain his system. It was subtle, insidious reasoning. Both sides claimed impartiality.

Mr Arthur Woodburn, M.P., in the House of Commons said of the National Council of Labour Colleges, "Our education is impartial and objective, free from all bias and guiltless of twisting history and twisting facts," (1) but the staff tutor of his own Scottish Labour College had asserted that his college stood for "the idea that the workers can only free themselves industrially and politically to the extent that they free themselves intellectually. For the Workers' Educational Association education is something quite outside the class struggle; for the Scottish Labour College it is a very vital part of it." (2)

It appeared that the Labour College movement was deliberately trying to undermine and defeat the Workers' Educational Association and to discredit its intentions. Resolutions were passed at many conferences urging that all educational schemes for trade unions be provided by the

1. Hansard: 16th February 1954.

2. Forward: letter by J.P.M. Millar: 25th August 1922.

Labour College on the assumption that all trade unionists were politically of Socialist persuasion. (1) The Workers' Educational Association was "the handmaid of the employers" and was subsidised by employers and the state. These were the types of statement which readily came from the lips of speakers. The logic of the attitude could be readily questioned. If assistance from the state was bad and adult education had to be shielded from any contamination through accepting grants or funds from the state it seemed that the same speakers should have protected their children from the same state which could hardly be assumed to be good or impartial up to the school leaving age and bad and biased thereafter. State money for school education could scarcely be clean while state money for adult education was contaminated. Could the foreign body causing the contamination have been introduced from the ideology? The controversy was very bad for the advance of adult education and it is doubtful if adult education, in this country, so far as the workers in industry are concerned, has recovered from this early attack. The Workers' Educational Association probably became, as a result, an educational organisation

1. e.g. Forward: speech by Mr John Simpson of the Distributive Workers.

for what have been called the black-coated workers or the middle class, the teacher and the clerk, the housewife and the civil servant. The Labour College created a kind of caste system within the citizenry of the country by segregating one large section of the adult population while preaching a classless society. Yet the curious thing is that while the National Council of Labour Colleges charged the Workers' Educational Association with being a capitalist, anti-socialist movement the Workers' Educational Association came in for much criticism from right wing sources that it was a socialist propaganda machine. It was assailed on both sides but survived the joint attack. It was certainly formed to help the workers of the country as its name implies and to its founder Albert Mansbridge must go the credit for steering its course clear of politics at the start and of obtaining for the movement the cooperation and active assistance of universities and local education authorities, whatever path it may have taken with his successors in office. For the Workers' Educational Association, impartiality meant that its aims were educational, neither partisan nor propagandist. It meant the presentation of a democratic case to the individual who could then judge its merits and through tolerance and free discussion arrive at truth. The

Workers' Educational Association found it difficult to convince the right-wing political groups that any political education could be taught in an atmosphere free from party bias and it was even more difficult to persuade the left-wing groups that when party bias was introduced the product was not education but propaganda. As the century progressed perhaps the difficulties disappeared to a large extent with a majority of the people but "the sad thing is that, despite its old-fashioned ideological basis the National Council of Labour Colleges still commands enough support in the trade unions, Labour and Cooperative movements to represent a serious diversion of energies and financial resources in the field of working-class education." (1) It was the determination to avoid any entanglement with political parties that prevented some of the Border towns from having university lecturers at adult classes for a long time. Throughout the twenties it was all too true that few classes existed in the Border counties other than any organised by bodies like the Women's Rural Institutes, while the arts were kept alive among the adult population by the Arts League of Service and the Village and Country Town Concert Party Organisation.

1. Raybould (ed.): Trends in English Adult Education: (Heinemann 1959) p.208.

The National Council of Labour Colleges celebrated its jubilee in session 1958-1959. Celebrations were held throughout Britain. In Scotland the organisation arranged functions in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Kilmarnock and Kelty but it is interesting to record that the only city in Britain to accord official recognition to the movement was Edinburgh whose Lord Provost and magistrates honoured the movement at a civic reception and this despite the fact that politically Edinburgh has never had a socialist town council. There may also be evidence that the stated policies of the National Council of Labour Colleges have become less bitter. In recent years at the discussions which have taken place in the trade union movement concerning education, the National Council of Labour Colleges, in a memorandum, has proposed its own dissolution and that of the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee into a new National Trade Union Education Council to be responsible for all education financed from trade union funds. It is proposed that the Workers' Educational Association remain a separate body with its links with state and university. It would still be free but recognised as a body providing adult education suitable for members of the trade unions especially in week, week-end and summer schools. This is a change of attitude in 1959

the outcome of which will only be known in the years to come.

The conference on adult education at Dunblane in 1927 organised by the Scottish Committee of the British Institute of Adult Education was very occupied about the provision of liberal education in all areas of the country, urban and rural. The delegates were concerned whether adult education was properly the business of the local education authority or the university. The desire was to bring to the population "the streams of culture that flowed from the university."⁽¹⁾ It was an opportunity to increase the intellectual range of the adult and to heighten his appreciation of men and their works. The British Institute of Adult Education which had been founded through the energies of Lord Haldane considered that the organisation and the administration of adult education should pivot on the university. "It is fundamental to our concept of adult education that the student and the university should be in direct relation to one another and be conscious that they belong to one another and share in a common life and aim. The mutual relation will never be established by any system under which the university is merely employed by the state or by a local education

1. The Glasgow Herald: 2nd May 1927.

authority to provide teachers and advice and what is called academic experience." (1) This has been a most important point in the subsequent development of adult education through the universities, where the universities besides providing for needs claim and maintain the right to initiate courses suitable for adults.

The principal subjects of the 1920s were economics and economic or political history. Of the twenty-four classes in Edinburgh in 1921-1922 no fewer than six were in this branch of learning and two out of four at Bathgate were similar. This was perhaps natural as a result of the constitutional aim of the Workers' Educational Association and the nature of its appeal. It was also natural from the nature of the political and social conditions of the time. The first World War had ended. Instead of heralding an age of peace and plenty it led to an age of industrial unrest, unemployment, general strikes, thousands on the 'dole,' disappointment and disillusionment. The great depression came at the end of the next decade when the writer issued tickets for 'farthing breakfasts' to school children of Leith while their dock-working fathers held aimless conversation in street-corner groups. Thinking adults questioned

1. Oliver Stanley (ed.): *The Way Out*: (Oxford University Press 1923)

why all this was happening and it was natural that their interest turned to political science and economics. It also troubled administrators and we find a motion being discussed and unanimously adopted at a conference in the University of Edinburgh over which Principal R.S.Rait of the University of Glasgow presided that "This conference affirms its conviction of the need for special efforts to extend in every way the provision of educational opportunity for unemployed adults and calls on the executive committee of the Scottish Branch of the British Institute of Adult Education to consider (a) the formulation of a scheme for carrying this extension into effect, and (b) a suitable method of enlisting in the effort all bodies interested or concerned." (1)

There was an urgency to undertake research into adult education at that time and to consider whether the time-honoured subjects were sufficient or whether the range of subjects should be extended. There was considerable discussion about bridging the gap between vocational and non-vocational subjects and a desire to widen the definition of adult education especially if the unemployed were to be interested. It was a re-expression of the need to allow change in adult education with change in the lives of the participants.

1. The Scotsman: 16th May 1932.

Adult education can never be regarded as static: it is vitally connected with the everyday life of the community. If it does not keep up to date it will lose its influence and usefulness.

Within a year Edinburgh was to see the opening of the Kirk o' Field College by the Chancellor of the University, Sir James Barrie. Kirk o' Field was an extension of the work of the Edinburgh University Settlement which itself was already twenty-eight years old. The College was an experiment of very great importance and the pioneers can justly be proud that they gave an incentive and a soul to a body of men who might otherwise have lost interest and destroyed their soul. The workmen prepared the College themselves. "Such is the picture of Kirk o' Field through the day, a picture of energy and interest. Yet all these hundred men are unemployed and, without the life given by their communal work and the health-giving effect of labour, they would be just another hundred listless men in the Labour Exchange queues...." (1) The promoters were experimenting with a new type of education, indeed of social work, devised for the times in which they lived. "The

1. Edinburgh University Settlement Association: Report 1933: p.12.

College is young and so are many of its instructors, and its students, though many are old in years, are young in their enthusiasm to learn." (1) It was a venture of faith. The first year's enrolment, half of whom were unemployed persons, was 578. Of these 98 were studying German and 96 wireless construction. The intense interest in international affairs through the study of foreign languages was claimed to be "without parallel in the history of Scotland." (2) There was no doubt about the serious intentions of the students, unemployed or not. This was borne out by the intensive study of the same subject for one year after another. Tutorial classes formed themselves by themselves without outside influence or suggestion and written and practical work was requested by the students and completed by them. The students worked on their own in addition to their classes and in the Settlement's other home at Cameron House we find in 1934 men studying psychology, women medical subjects and another small group of men studying Plato's Republic "all for one penny per night." (3) This intensive study had its reward. Two students in 1935 obtained a week's scholarship to Coleg Harlech, the Welsh college of adult

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1. *ibid*: 1933:p.12
 2. *ibid*: 1933:p.24
 3. *ibid*: 1934:p.24

education. Another who had attended English and economic classes won a £150 scholarship tenable at Ruskin College. He was awarded a further grant from Edinburgh Education Committee to enable him to accept as he was a married man. When later Newbattle Abbey College was opened two of its first students were from Kirk o' Field College. These awards were incentives to other students and the tradition with its tutorial and extension classes still continues to the present although the immediate neighbourhood of the College has lost some of its population and the immediate reason for its formation has long since gone. It was work of which the late Mr Ramsay Macdonald, the President of the Council, approved, that it "was tackling the problem in the way it should be tackled, not by propaganda which was false education and very false culture but by rational exposition.... It was in the Scottish tradition. It was culture which came from education and really belonged to the eternal things of life." (1)

It was in the twenties, too, that a new tool became available to the adult teacher. Broadcasting became a reality and the crystal set entered most of the homes of the

1. The Scotsman: 8th April 1937.

country. It was an entertainment service for which the public paid a licence fee. Its first charter described the service to be one of "information, education and entertainment." It became a challenge to the organised class. "The distinctive feature of broadcasting is its power of attracting the interest of a vast public and at the same time of entering into the daily life of every individual listener.... It is the easiest and least costly means of spreading knowledge. Unlike the lecturer it can be everywhere at once. It is the perfect method by which to conduct what has been described as 'insidious education.'" (1) Many assumed that the advent of broadcasting would be the death knell of adult education classes but nothing proved to be further from the truth. The number of persons subjected to adult education of one kind or another became greater. The hard-working man, now smoking his pipe at home, heard perhaps for the first time a Beethoven sonata, a reconstruction of a period in history, a philosophical discussion, the serialisation of a book and so on. His interest was aroused. Sir Walford Davies became a household name, a friend of the family, and his programme was awaited with expectancy. Radio encouraged the appreciation of music and the subject flourished

1. New Ventures in Broadcasting - A Study in Adult Education (B.B.C.1928) p.1.

in adult classes. Mr Middleton's name became synonymous with horticulture. Sir James Jeans did the same for astronomy; the radio doctor improved the standard of health by health education; and legal questions were settled for the layman by the expert. These men and others like them so improved the taste and whetted the appetites of many listeners that they sought further knowledge in adult classes and in books in the public libraries. Broadcasting was not "designed to make study easy and almost casual for the most of the people." (1) The object was rather to stimulate in the individual a desire to continue his study of the subject. The listening-group was encouraged, especially in the country areas but somehow it never had outstanding success. Considerable difficulty was experienced in recruiting a first-rate team of tutors to conduct the groups. It was artificial. Members preferred to listen at home or attend a class with a live lecturer to whom they could put their questions. 'The Listener' was conceived as an aid to adult education, "a weekly illustrated educational journal to be planned and directed by those responsible for educational broadcasting." (2) It has survived

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1. The Glasgow Herald: 14th April 1928: speech by William Graham, M.P.
 2. New Ventures in Broadcasting: p.88.

as a record of talks given and an educational journal although not generally regarded as such. In conjunction with its broadcasts, the B.B.C. issued innumerable study pamphlets. In these, reference was made to existing systematic courses with the direct intention of encouraging the more formal and disciplined study of the subjects of the B.B.C. talks. The B.B.C. was anxious to help education. "The B.B.C. is willing to afford opportunities to education authorities and voluntary bodies to advertise forthcoming adult courses in talks in the studio by educational leaders." (1)

The problem of any organiser of adult education classes became in the 1930s a problem of selecting the subjects which were likely to attract the best attendances. The catholicity of subjects suggested made the problem harder. Economics gradually faded from the prime place and new subjects took precedence. English and English literature, psychology and public speaking, headed the list of adult studies. In 1938, H.M. Chief Inspector commented, "This may be taken as showing a growing appreciation of the whole field of culture that the term 'liberal education' may

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1. Joint Advisory Committee on Adult Education in South-East Scotland: Minutes: 31st October 1928: speech by D. Cleghorn Thomson of B.B.C.

connote." (1) Psychology was a comparatively new science and its name had a mystery for the man in the street. The press and especially the American press were using the word at every available opportunity and it seemed to the ordinary man that psychology could solve all his problems and troubles.

The Dunblane conference on adult education in 1931 compared the development of adult education in Scotland and in England. Scotland's failure to keep pace with England hit the headlines of the newspapers. The Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction 1919 had been a great incentive to English adult education. It had encouraged extra-mural adult education by the universities, university extension lectures, and the tutorial course system inaugurated by the Workers' Educational Association. But, if Scotland lagged behind in this form of education there were still three times as many students attending universities in Scotland in proportion to the population as attended English universities. Scotland's continuation class system had grown by 1931 to a great extent and facilities in Edinburgh and the south-east of Scotland were generous and laudable. Edinburgh offered

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 1938.

more opportunities for technical and commercial education than most cities in the kingdom. Adult education, because of the Scottish method of paying grant, was an adjunct to the continuation class system - and still is, now that both continuation classes and adult education are characterised as further education - but as an extension of that system adult education was inclined to be overlooked. Education authorities saw the reason for continuation classes for juveniles and adolescents. Their needs were "so apparent and articulate." (1) Adult requirements were not really understood nor considered in the schemes of work. When money was short there was none available for the education of adults. The grant was not large enough to encourage the classes for adults which naturally were more expensive in lecturers' fees if lecturers of the highest standard were to be available and in view of the amount of time spent in travelling and in preparation as distinct from the actual time involved delivering the lecture and conducting the discussion. It was widely felt that adult education required from the Scottish Education Department its own set of regulations and its own adult education committee.

1. The Glasgow Herald; 18th May 1931.

The principal bodies who pressed for such a change in the Continuation Class Code were the Scottish Branch of the British Institute of Adult Education and the Joint Advisory Committees of the Universities. Such a regional committee for the University of Edinburgh had been in existence for three years. It had been formed at a conference of representatives of the University of Edinburgh and the Education Authorities of the south-east of Scotland held in the University on 27th April 1928. The purpose of the conference was to consider whether a committee of an advisory character composed of representatives of the University, the Education Authorities of the area, and the voluntary organisations concerned with adult education could be of service in coordinating the various agencies at work in the University area of south-east Scotland. The conference did agree to try to correlate the work by such a committee to consist of 25 members, four from the University, 16 from the county Education Authorities, two from the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association, one each from the Scottish Council of the Workers' Educational Association, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the Women's Rural Institutes. Dr Alexander Morgan became the first Honorary Secretary. The Advisory Committee took a broad view of the meaning of adult

education and agreed to make a comprehensive survey of facilities already available in the area. It is significant that from its first meeting it decided that "classes in arts and crafts and similar branches contributing to a liberal education should be included." (1) This committee did not have the function of providing suitable courses but of encouraging their institution. It was a convenient meeting place for all agencies in the field and it made it an early duty to prepare a list of suitable lecturers and teachers, locally available, throughout the area. It also discussed the desirability of setting up in each of the four Scottish universities an adult education department with, at least, a full-time director of studies. This had been effected in England as a result of the Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction and by 1931 no fewer than a dozen universities and university colleges including Oxford, Cambridge and London had created departments with full-time directors or similar academic officials. Nearly twenty years were to pass before Edinburgh took the step in 1949.

The Advisory Committee was very concerned about the

1. Joint Advisory Committee: Minutes: 31st October 1928.

finance of adult education. It had been lack of finance which had killed earlier attempts to spread adult education in Scotland. The University Extension Scheme had to be suspended through lack of finance; the summer schools of Patrick Geddes failed financially; the Workers' Educational Association struggled always at the mercy of education authorities, and not a few would have nothing to do with the organisation. The new Advisory Committee approached the University Grants Committee of the Treasury at its first opportunity in June 1929 when it pointed out that "although no part of the Treasury grant to the University Court was earmarked, the grant to the University might, perhaps, if increased, allow of further provision for adult education by the University." (1) The University Court was not unsympathetic. It already made a grant of £100 per annum to the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association and allowed the use of classrooms free of charge. It invited the Advisory Committee to submit a statement explaining the position regarding adult education in the area and suggesting a scheme of organisation which might be adopted if and when funds became available for extending the work. The University Court then granted a

1. *ibid*: 29th November 1929.

sum of £350 per annum to include the sum of £100 already paid to the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association to assist the development of adult education. It was agreed that this money would be administered by an Extra-Mural Committee, an entirely University body working in close cooperation with the Joint Advisory Committee on Adult Education. This money was not given for any narrow type of education and there were no conditions attached. It is important that thus right from the start of the receipt of University money for adult educational purposes the University of Edinburgh has had a wide, liberal outlook. The Court's representatives had suggested that part of the money might be devoted to such objects as the giving of a University concert in a suitable centre of the area in collaboration with the Department of Music and to the securing of the temporary services of an organiser. In connection with the organisation of classes there was the proposal that assistance to classes in rural areas might take the form of payment of the travelling and maintenance expenses of the lecturers where distance necessitated an overnight absence from home. It might even at times be used to pay part of the lecturer's salary.

The Extra-Mural Committee, therefore, had a wide remit

when it met for the first time on 27th January 1931. The first class organised under the new arrangements was at Hawick and consisted of ten lectures by Mr W.H.Marwick. It was agreed to supplement the tutor's fee by £5 to bring it up to the standard rate paid in Edinburgh and to pay railway fare and subsistence each evening. Besides being the first class it was the start of a long association with extra-mural work for Mr Marwick who was at that time a tutor organiser employed by the Workers' Educational Association (Scotland) and the Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee. Week-end adult schools were held in the first year at Melrose, North Berwick and Peebles and arrangements were made to have the services of Mr Marwick for two days each week as part-time organiser in the south-east of Scotland, the University paying two-fifths of his salary. By the following year when the Workers' Educational Association (Scotland) found that it could not support a full-time tutor it was possible to arrange that he be appointed full-time to adult education work in the Edinburgh University area as a Carnegie Teaching Fellow. This was the first full-time Edinburgh University adult education appointment for work in the south-east of Scotland. Mr Marwick held the post till his appointment as an internal University lecturer in 1949, but he has continued to serve adult education as a

part-time lecturer up to the present.

1931 and 1932 were the years of severe cuts in government expenditure. Public employees suffered percentage reductions of salary. Unemployment was at a high level and many professionally trained men and women could not find employment in their professions. Students leaving university were glad to take any employment available and, as a result, many were lost to the teaching and other professions who might have brought distinction to them had they found initial employment. This was just the period of the movement to extend adult education but the education authorities mostly indicated that, in view of the reduced government grants to education, their adult educational work would require to be curtailed or suspended. Suspended it was in the winter session of 1931-1932 by the Education Committees of Midlothian, East Lothian, West Lothian and Berwickshire. The University, through its Extra-Mural Committee, however, decided to try, as far as possible, during the period of stringency, to conduct as many adult courses or lectures as possible in suitable centres. It was possible to have these in Bo'ness, Cockenzie, Selkirk and Jedburgh and also to hold a series of week-end schools at Jedburgh, Hawick, Melrose, St Abb's, Kelso and Galashiels.

It was this same stringency that prompted the appointment of a sub-committee of the Joint Advisory Council to enquire into the share of educational funds from the state available in England and in Scotland. It was agreed to combine with the Scottish Committee of the British Institute of Adult Education and the Joint Committees of the other three Scottish universities with a view to approaching the Scottish Education Department for adequate financial assistance to adult education. Adult education was conducted through local education committees under section 2(iv) and 3(iv) of the Code of Regulations for Continuation Classes in Scotland issued 1926 and adult education was paid for in terms of section 2(ii) and 2(iv) of the Education Authorities (Scotland) Grant Regulations 1926. The regulations might have been sufficient in the early stages - which is doubtful in the extreme - but they did not allow for adequate provision, especially when classes were likely to be small and the lecturers expensive. Much that was done still savoured of the philanthropy of the nineteenth century, especially when it came to the remuneration and reimbursement of the lecturer himself. In England things were different. Adult education had had a separate set of regulations from 1924 which concerned courses for liberal education of adults either by universities or by approved associations. Grant

could come for tutorial courses, university extension courses and for certain terminal courses. The influence of the reports of the Committee in 1922 on the "Development of Adult Education in Rural Areas" and in 1927 on "Pioneer Work and Developments in Adult Education" influenced the English Board of Education to modify its regulations in 1932, to recognise that pioneer work of even single lectures done by full-time tutors intended to develop adult education would qualify for grant. (1) These regulations made the universities in England much more free to expand the adult educational field. Their lectures were not just meetings in a continuation class system whose tutors received different rates of remuneration but lectures for a university extra-mural department or other committee with the status of the university behind them.

The Scottish Universities sympathised with the position of the local education authorities in their endeavours to implement the regulations but did not think that sufficient was done. The universities pressed the Secretary of State to introduce new grant regulations for adult education distinct from continuation class education. The new regulations

1. Education (England & Wales) Adult Education Regulations 1932.

did come into existence in 1934 and gave emphasis to adult education although they did not, by any means, bring about parity with England. It is doubtful if, apart from drawing attention to adult education and regularising some minor procedures already in practice, they did much to stimulate further developments. The body financially and administratively responsible for adult courses was still the local education authority. The course of instruction was to be designed for the liberal education of adults and be so arranged to afford the students opportunity of continuous and progressive study. No preliminary qualification was required for entry on a course but it was expected that the admission of students would be so regulated as to exclude any for whom, on educational grounds, any particular course was inappropriate! It was contemplated that each course would demand intensive effort on the part of the student. It was expected that no course would be of less than ten weeks' duration. Tutorial courses, preparatory tutorial courses and more general courses such as are known as extension courses were approved. It was hoped that the new regulations would give fresh impetus to the development of adult education. In the circular to education authorities accompanying the regulations, it was suggested, "that an effort should be made to secure increased

provision for liberal studies." (1) Education authorities were also asked to make a careful survey of the needs and desires of the adults in their areas. The active bodies in the field were largely ignored except in the sphere of consultation. Their requirements had to go through the routine of the local education authority and might or might not be satisfied. It was recommended that the Scottish Branch of the British Institute of Adult Education, the Workers' Educational Association and the University Regional Committees for Adult Education should be consulted but there was no provision for any of them or any other body to take initiative.

M.L.Jacks in his "Total Education" claimed that adult education had often to be of an informal nature and flourished in an atmosphere more of the club than of the schoolroom. "It is in such surroundings that adult education will most successfully achieve that integration.... which is necessary - the synthetic approach to studies.... the reconciliation of liberal and vocational pursuits in a wider unity." (2) It might even have been a defence of the residential adult education college system. These colleges grew up in England

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1. Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 1935: p.30.
 2. M.L.Jacks: Total Education:(Kegan Paul 1946):p.140.

and Wales from the very end of last century. Indeed Ruskin College was established in 1899. They are, to some extent, an extension of the residential summer schools, the earliest of which we have noticed in the Patrick Geddes schools in Edinburgh. It was not, however, till 1933 that a residential education college began to exercise the minds of the leaders of educational bodies in Scotland. In that year, at Dunblane, the Marquis of Lothian made his dramatic offer of the gift of Newbattle Abbey during a speech on adult education in the modern world. Lord Lothian was perturbed about the future of democracy which depended "on the capacity of individual citizens to think for themselves and choose freely the leaders they were going to follow. Unless a sufficient number of people in a democracy were capable of thinking for themselves democracy failed." (1) He offered his house to the universities of Scotland to be the "crown or apex of an adult educational system." (2) He visualised the ancient house becoming a home for students unable to gain admission to a university but who had proved their ability by their devotion to their study and a willingness to sacrifice for study. To make the building more like a

1. The Scotsman: 22nd May 1933.

2. The Glasgow Herald: 22nd May 1933.

home the Marquis agreed to leave in it pictures, furniture and furnishings. Those who supported the adult education movement believed that this offer afforded the most effective opportunity of giving to ordinary people the spirit of the university. "By means of it the universities are given an opportunity of providing an education not to the professional classes but to those who may be called upon to undertake the burden and responsibilities of leadership in industry, in the public services, and in the trade organisations of the country." (1) Newbattle was not, however, to become Scotland's first and only adult college without a struggle, on public platform, in the press and in official circles.

While the supporters of the scheme were claiming that men and women in a residential college learned far more from their living together, their informal discussions and common study, the opponents were arguing that the cost was out of all proportion to the work to be achieved. The leading critics were the Scottish committee of the National Council of Labour Colleges who issued a manifesto on the subject. "Educational experience goes to show that instead of such

1. Alex.Morgan; Scottish University Studies:(Oxford University Press 1933) p.213.

institutions providing better and more enthusiastic workers for the Labour movement most of those taking part have disappeared into other occupations than their own and in many cases ceased to be active in our movement." (1) That committee took the view that the organised working class movement should decline to accept any responsibility for the Newbattle scheme but should devote its energies to developing its own educational work. Any hope of support from organised Labour was gone and the Trades Union Congress at its annual conference decided not to accept representation on the governing body of Newbattle Abbey College. The vote was narrow, 73 to 69. The Scotsman commented on the decision, "This is no proselytising movement. Politics do not enter into it. It is a sincere non-partisan endeavour to bring higher education within the reach of working class students who, through no fault of their own, have been denied the opportunity of attending university classes." (2) Despite opposition from a group who might have been expected to welcome the scheme with open arms, advertisements appeared shortly afterwards for the first appointments, lecturers in psychology, political science and English literature. The governors met for

1. Daily Herald: 9th July 1935.
2. The Scotsman: 24th April 1936

the first time on 2nd July 1936 in the Senate Hall of the University of Edinburgh. The Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow had agreed to be trustees on condition that trusteeship did not involve them in financial burdens. The College opened its doors in January 1937 and was formally opened by H.R.H. The Duke of Kent on 2nd December following. "This College is to a great extent a concentration of educational experience. Here you are given many opportunities of taking advantage of both experience and academic knowledge. It is the logical outcome of organised education." (1) To assist with the financing of the College the Scottish Education Department brought into force the Adult Education (Scotland) Residential Institutions Regulations 1936 whereby grants could be paid from the Education (Scotland) Fund in aid of the cost of education of adult students attending residential institutions other than a university or similar teaching college if the institution provided full-time instruction in subjects of a liberal education. These regulations were amended in 1951 by giving additional grant in respect of instruction in part-time or vacation courses and were again consolidated in 1953. (2) Twenty-one students were full-time

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1. The Scotsman: 3rd December 1937: speech by H.R.H. The Duke of Kent.
 2. Further Education (Voluntary Associations) (Scotland) Grant Regulations 1952: came into force 1st January 1953.

in the first year of the College, thirty-nine in the second (1938) and had war not broken out in September 1939 there would have been some fifty students enrolled. Lord Lothian had visualised some fifty to sixty students in full-time study but that was never to be.

The work of the College from the first attracted the praise of the inspectors of the Scottish Education Department. They approved of the system whereby in addition to the recognised courses supplementary lectures were given by members of the College staff and the University of Edinburgh. Of the work of the students they wrote, "A personal perusal of essays written by students at the beginning and end of their stays shows a surprising advance both in substance and in form. Much of the writing, after some preliminary training, is based on independent reading and thought and it bears the mark of individual effort." (1) When the College was closed at the outbreak of hostilities the warden and tutors offered their services to conduct study groups and lectures free of charge for a few months. "Through social and historical subjects we may satisfy something of that intelligent desire for knowledge about the background of

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1939: p.46.

the present struggle which many are seeking just now. (1) They had in mind offering their services to groups of neighbours or several hundred in a town hall, to church, cooperative or union groups or to any other group established or being established. The response was unexpectedly quick and overwhelming. Requests came from all over the country, from Aberdeenshire to the Borders. Courses of lectures were arranged and also single lectures. In general, there was collaboration with the Workers' Educational Association (Scotland), district and local branches. Much was, however, done in conjunction with Edinburgh University Settlement and Kirk o' Field College. A miners' institute at Gorebridge chose drama but literature, the problems of the day, economics, and clear thinking were the favourite themes. One other group under trade union auspices was conducted by officials of the Guild of Insurance. Groups of members and office workers assembled on various evenings in their rooms to study literature and world affairs. The lecturers hoped, by their efforts, also to form groups of voluntary speakers and local group leaders who would carry on the work they had begun. They also prepared a training scheme for those without experience. This was another philanthropic offering to the

1. The Scotsman: 15th October 1939: letter.

cause of adult education in the great tradition of the previous century. By January it was reported that "most of the activities begun by the Newbattle tutors are now able to carry on under their own steam." (1)

The small college can scarcely hope financially to be a self-supporting unit, especially if it is housed in a great mansion, such as Newbattle. But its very smallness and intimacy gives it an educational and cultural advantage. The college may be the opportunity that the student has sought to advance his own private desire or ambition but it should in so doing also enrich the social life of the student who has to become a member of the community, not only in the lecture room but also in the common room, at meals, on the sports field or in the working party in the garden or elsewhere. If the college is run as a hotel there can be no real community effort; there can be little opportunity of mixing other than in the classroom. In a community narrow-minded selfish attitudes expand into wider generous views. Discipline becomes self-discipline and responsibility, self-imposed responsibility. The lesson of the college may be the lesson of the city state.

Newbattle Abbey College, requisitioned during the

1. The Scotsman: 4th January 1940.

war became successively a convalescent depot, a training depot for women's army services, a war office selection board centre, and, at the end of hostilities, the only army college, a formation college, under the army education scheme in Scotland. Colleges were established throughout the country and at army command posts overseas. They were intended "to provide opportunities for further education for men and women who wish to pursue general and technical studies at a more advanced stage than is possible in lower formations." (1) The subjects of study offered to some 500 students, accommodated in huts in the grounds, included pure and applied science, arts and crafts, mathematics, commerce, domestic science and modern studies. The college, though not intended to be, was really vocational in so far as it was primarily designed to fit men and women for civilian life and was organised to fit in with the services scheme for resettlement and demobilisation.

When nearly two years later the army wished to continue the lease of the building, objections were raised and the Scottish Trades Union Congress who had not supported Newbattle financially at the start had a motion on its agenda

1. Scottish Command Circular: quoted by The Scotsman: 17th November 1945.

regretting the continued use of the building by the services "thus depriving the working class movement of the gift of the late Lord Lothian...." The College had, however, been released before the debate and became a residential centre for the training of community centre wardens and youth leaders, again a vocational training in a cultural setting. Newbattle's character was changing with the changes in the social life of the state. In October 1950 the College reverted to its original purpose, an adult education college, still without much financial help. Among the first full-time post-war students were a fitter, a metal turner, a tube maker, an ironmoulder, a railway fireman, a civil servant, an engineer and several in various forms of clerical occupation. The trade unions were still lukewarm, many fearing that a year at Newbattle would inspire the students not to return to their trades but to seek other employment. Though the General Secretary of the Scottish Trades Union Congress stressed the need for the unions to associate closely with Newbattle few had been willing. (1)

The number of full-time students increased slowly and many more part-time students in week-end and summer courses

1. The Scotsman: 20th July 1950: speech by Mr George Middleton, C.B.E.

were introduced to fill vacant accommodation but with some local authorities hesitating to give bursaries to potential students, the trade unions being extremely cautious, and grants from public bodies scarce, much of the responsibility for the financial position of Newbattle has been shouldered by the Scottish Education Department. Newbattle Abbey College has an appeal through its curriculum and surroundings for many types of student. A place can be found for the young man just released from national service who is anxious to resume the habit of study, the man settled in his job but conscious of latent abilities not being exploited, the trade unionist who wishes to exercise his mind beyond what is possible in the workshop, and the older man who relaxes after a busy life. Likewise women can find Newbattle stimulating. The course does not lead to any diploma or certificate and includes the study of English language and literature, aesthetics and literary criticism, political, social and economic history, social and political theory, economics and philosophy, thus giving students a groundwork in the study of the social sciences.

The joint Advisory Committee and the Extra-Mural Committee of the University of Edinburgh continued their policy

of devoting a considerable amount of attention to the encouragement of adult classes in the rural areas where it was difficult to assemble a large number of students to form a class apart from the difficulty of finding a suitable lecturer who was willing to spend the necessary time which might include overnight stay. Trade depressions, economic cuts, general elections, and an often indifferent population made the task exceedingly hard. Financial assistance came from the Educational Trusts of the Lothians who made substantial grants to the University to finance adult education in their areas. The East Lothian Trust has been most generous over the years by making regular grants of £200 for adult education work in the county, while the West Lothian grant usually amounted to £100. Grants from the Midlothian Trust varied. These grants were of great importance in the development of adult education in the Lothians area. In their first year they enabled eight classes to be held in East Lothian and four in West Lothian compared with four and none by the education committees in the previous year although the Extra-Mural Committee had held one in each county on its own University grant. Education committees, however, were not entirely to blame for their treatment of adult classes. Scotland was so unfairly treated compared with England in the way of government grants. In England, at that time, fifty per cent

of the cost of adult classes was recoverable by government grant but in Scotland no part of the grant was earmarked for adult education. It was hopeless to expect education committees to devote the same interest as their colleagues in England when regard was had to this different treatment. The Adult Education Regulations did not really encourage especially in times of stress when adult education might have been of great social benefit to the community. With the education authority holding the purse-strings, the University was helpless to provide for the needs of the people on anything like the scale thought desirable. The only apparent advantage of the new regulations was perhaps that there were now regulations on adult education as distinct from some small reference in a continuation class code.

By 1937-1938 the Extra-Mural Committee was able to report steady progress in the area. By far the largest number of classes was possible as a result of the assistance given by the Educational Trusts: local education authorities paid for classes in Selkirkshire and Berwickshire and two classes were conducted by the Extra-Mural Committee itself, one in Roxburghshire and the other, a composite course, in Musselburgh. One-day schools and occasional propaganda lectures, largely conducted by the Extra-Mural Committee's lecturer,

had been a feature of the work and helped to enlist members for classes in future years. Some 500 persons attended these in 1937-1938. In addition a number of discussion groups and wireless listening groups were formed "as an outcome of the classes." (1) Every county in the University's area, except Peeblesshire, was now taking some part, however small, in adult education. The expenditure by the Extra-Mural Committee of the University on adult education classes and propaganda lectures in the country districts during the session 1938-1939 was in Midlothian £91:4s.10d of which £50 was grant from the Educational Trust; West Lothian spent £216:6s.10d. of which £150 came from the Educational Trust and £52 from the funds of the Education Authority; East Lothian spent £202:19s.8d. of which £200 was from the Education Trust; Selkirkshire spent £6:6s.8d; Roxburghshire £7:14s.2d. and Berwickshire £13.17s.10d. In addition the Extra-Mural Committee employed a tutor-organiser. Much of the work of the Committee was done in Edinburgh itself where the Education Committee met the entire cost of the lecturers' fees and the Extra-Mural Committee provided £100 for organisation purposes. These sums show that, apart from the city of Edinburgh, practically no money was spent by local education

1. Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Committee: Eighth Annual Report: 1937-1938.

authorities on adult education. (1)

Throughout the period the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association continued to expand its work with the educational support of the University Extra-Mural Committee and the financial support of the Edinburgh Education Committee. Dr Alexander Morgan characterised the Edinburgh classes as the "one bright spot in the south-east of Scotland and both in their scope and in the quality of the work done an inspiration." (2) The nature of the syllabus was changing. The early historical and economic subjects were falling from place as subjects of prime importance. Literature and language study attracted large numbers while classes in the appreciation of art and of music were successful. By 1935 classes were held on more specialised branches of the arts, for example, on Celtic and on Eastern or Byzantine art. Public speaking was the most popular subject in 1935 with over 70 on the roll. Experimental work in the last class took place by holding several class meetings in large private gardens by courtesy of the owners. Excursion classes were increasing in popularity especially in scientific and historical subjects. By 1937 the first classes on the art of writing, later to develop into a three-year class, had

1. *ibid*: Minutes: 9th June 1939.

2. The Scotsman: 26th June 1933.

been held with 102 students, while, reflecting the public interest of the day, a class on diet and health attracted 79 students. In its endeavour to be up-to-date the Association introduced a class on film history and appreciation in the next year, "a subject which in the social conditions of today may well repay serious and critical study...." (1)

Before the following session had begun the second World War had been declared. It could have been assumed that the closing down of all public buildings for large meetings, shut-down of cinemas and theatres, amalgamation of B.B.C. programmes into one which issued news bulletins every hour, black-out regulations, curtailment of transport, evacuation of population, restriction of movement, and national call-up of reservists and conscripts would have brought about an end of adult education. It was too easy for an unwilling authority to cancel the programme for any one of these reasons, black-out being the principal one. The University Court had also decided that the operation of its Extra-Mural Committee should be suspended for the duration of the war. The decision was communicated to all the education committees and the voluntary bodies cooperating with the committee.

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 1939: p.45.

Mr Marwick, the lecturer, offered his resignation but in its wisdom the committee agreed only to accept it provisionally. The members of the committee were disappointed to see their pioneer work brought to what appeared to be a premature end.

The complete eclipse of adult education, however, was not to be. It was not long before classes came into being in city and in county. The Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association re-commenced in Edinburgh; Kirk o' Field College re-opened its doors; the Scottish Branch of the Workers' Educational Association and the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Trade Union Committee re-started classes. Lecturers were also travelling to the three Lothians. The Ministry of Information made reference to the value of extra-mural assistance in war-time conditions. The demand for lecturers increased as was seen, for example, through the offer of the Newbattle tutors. The Extra-Mural Committee's lecturer actually conducted courses and lectures in some twenty centres from Stranraer to Peterhead. The Committee therefore found itself asking the University Court to authorise classes organised by it, defrayed from grants by the respective educational trusts and committees. The result was that during the next term classes met in the Lothians at Gorebridge,

Roslin, West Calder, Cockenzie, East Linton, Macmerry, Haddington, North Berwick, Bathgate, Bo'ness and Uphall, in more centres than they actually met in 1959-1960 in the same counties.

A new subject headed the list of large classes. The study of international affairs became popular, showing again how the nature of adult education changes with changing circumstances. The members of the public felt it was necessary for them to gain some knowledge of the background of the struggle in which they found themselves involved. It was a kind of specialisation of the thesis of Durkheim nearly twenty years before. He had stressed that the methods and aims of education varied according to the society in which they originated. Each society trained for the needs of its particular age of civilisation. (1) The needs for the age of war were needs for the age of peace.

While the war depleted the ranks of organised adult education as it existed at its start, the war also brought into being many new adult groups. Indeed, new groups which had no other point of homogeneity than their war-time purpose

1. Émile Durkheim: *Éducation et Sociologie*: (Paris 1922)

were created by many services which grew up or expanded in the early years of the war. For hours, in some cases, groups of men and women on fire-watching duties, on air raid precautions, observer post duty and the like, had to endure each other's company. Recreational activity figured largely in their programme to fill in waiting time but not unnaturally much discussion took place. When an enthusiast was in the group much good adult educational work was done leading to intimate study of the history, life and institutions of our own country and those of our allies. It was unfortunate that a wonderful opportunity was lost with these captive groups when the B.B.C. listening group programmes were suspended at the outbreak of war. Culture, however, despite the challenge of all the forces against it, kept making its demands to the surprise and pleasure of the organisers of adult education, to such an extent that Professor James Ritchie could say in 1942, "It is remarkable that in the greatest war in history there is a demand by the people for cultural classes." (1) Subjects entered the curriculum like 'Polish life and literature,' 'the U.S.A.,' 'U.S.S.R.' Considerable numbers of servicemen and servicewomen attended the classes when their duties permitted. Most education

1. E.W.E.A.: Minutes: 2nd October 1942.

authorities admitted them free of charge to their evening institutes and courses. Many of them might have attended as civilians if they had not been called to the colours. Many of them, however, were tasting adult education for the first time.

The army was to provide yet another outlet for adult education as it had done to a lesser extent in the 1914-1918 war. (For a summary of Adult Education in the Army see Appendix XIII.) The 1939 army was composed for the largest part of civilians in uniform. Among its members were men and women in all walks of life. It was not surprising that they often formed themselves into groups and tried to continue hobbies and interests as far as they could. It was all the more necessary in the first winter of the so-called 'phoney war.' The Y.M.C.A. in its huts and canteens did what it could to combat the 'boredom' by providing educational as well as recreational activities. Its education committee realised the intensity of its problem and invited the Universities Extra-Mural Consultative Committee, the Workers' Educational Association and the Board of Education to confer on the problem. The Central Advisory Committee for Education in H.M. Forces was formed as a result of the deliberations. It met in London for the first time on 25th January 1940

and in Scotland the first meeting took place within a month on 22nd February. The scheme for Scotland was drawn up in St Andrew's House at a meeting of educational bodies with Scottish Command representatives. The request from the army was for lectures and classes in subjects of educational and general interest, for study in continuation classes, for correspondence courses for isolated detachments, listening groups for isolated detachments and for instruction in special subjects of private study such as languages and especially French. It was agreed that the universities could most appropriately assist with the first and last of these requests. An ad hoc committee of the Extra-Mural Committee for Adult Education in H.M. Forces came into being and continued its work during the war. It became quite a large committee representative of many educational interests. Its honorary secretary throughout its existence was Mr Edward Blades who had in January 1940 been appointed honorary secretary of the University Extra-Mural Committee. Mr Blades had actually retired from the service of education as Director of Education for the county of West Lothian but he took up this work with a zeal which brought its reward of thanks in the citation at his laureation in 1946 as Doctor of Laws. "The work for the Forces proved a formidable task but his

indomitable spirit would not recognise difficulty. At a time when every educational institution was short of staff he had to find lecturers on many varied topics as well as teachers of academic and prevocational subjects." The record of the work of the Committee is tabulated at Appendix XV.

The requirements of the army of 1914 had been met to a certain extent by classes under the Continuation Class Code. The Code was amended to enable this to be done. "Where the managers desire, to provide instruction, other than the normal instruction in military duties, for recruits and other men serving with the colours, and are unable to secure regular attendance at progressive courses occupying ten hours or more and satisfying the full conditions of the Continuation Class Code, the provision of informal instruction may be aided by the Department." (1) The subjects of study in the south-east of Scotland included the geography and history of the campaign, conversational classes in foreign languages, illustrated lectures of a popular instructive kind, practical instruction in crafts, singing, field cookery, and tutorial assistance for backward students in the composition of letters and in simple calculations. The 1940 army was different. Education

1. Minute of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 19th September 1915.

had progressed considerably in the interval. Post-primary education had been a reality for many more men. There was a different attitude between men and officers. There was an atmosphere much more free and more suitable for discussion and debate. Lord Lindsay of Balliol College summed it up, "I got the impression that there had not been an army in England which discussed like this one since that famous Puritan army which produced the Putney debates and laid the foundation of modern democracy." (1) It was this difference which led to the extensive work of the university committees in charge of this form of adult education and also to the reasons for the introduction in 1941 of the discussion pamphlets of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs and the compulsory periods for discussion led by officers in their various sections of the services.

On the civilian side during the war the number of classes and the number of students in attendance kept comparatively steady. The number of students in the counties increased by nearly 150 in the first four years of the war. The panic closures of the early days of hostilities were forgotten and most people were looking forward to expansion in the days of peace. The Secretary of State had reconstituted

1. quoted in Army Education (Macmillan 1947) p.118.

the Advisory Council on Education. On adult education its remit was to "consider whether grants from the Education (Scotland) Fund should be made to voluntary organisations making provision in Scotland for the education of adults of eighteen years and over and, if so, under what conditions, and to make recommendations." The Advisory Council invited a memorandum of evidence from the Edinburgh Joint Advisory Council. The latter, knowing how unsatisfactory the position of expansion had been in the south-east of Scotland because of the existing regulations, recommended change based on "the institution of a regional board for each University district with consequential articles dealing with finance and administration." (1) This study of education in the midst of war was reminiscent of the similar study made by the Ministry of Reconstruction in England at the end of the 1914-1918 war. At the same time another body was concerned with post-war adult education, namely, the Committee of the British Institute of Adult Education under Lord Sankey. (2) The Educational Institute of Scotland also issued a report which included adult education. (3) All these reports stressed that "except for the cessation of external compulsion

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1. Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Committee: Thirteenth Annual Report: 1942-1943.
 2. Adult Education after the War: (Oxford University Press 1945)
 3. Educational Reconstruction: (Educational Institute of Scotland 1943)

there should be no breach of continuity between adolescent and adult education." (1) Every effort was to be made to further community spirit through cultural and humanistic studies by adult groups. The Educational Institute of Scotland praised the Folk High Schools of Denmark and thought that similar institutions might be opened in rural areas where the teaching was not entirely non-technical but for the most part cultural. The teachers were to be university men and women of broad outlook who could lead and guide discussion. The English report, likewise, did not wish to try to distinguish too closely the differences between vocational and non-vocational education. The authors claimed it was a hindrance in the past, an "unnatural classification," in which subjects like economics, philosophy and political theory were in the first grade and the arts and literature at a somewhat lower level. "The truth is that in education as in other forms of creative activity the horizon widens with each step upward." (2)

The horizon certainly did widen in the county areas in the immediate post-war era. The new Education Act and

1. *ibid.* p.18

2. *Adult Education after the War*: (Oxford University Press 1945) p.4.

the recommendations following upon it gave the necessary backing to the development of classes in county areas. The adult education grant had previously been negligible but now a grant of 75% was available in respect of payments (including travelling and personal expenses) made to lecturers in connection with classes conducted under the Adult Education (Scotland) Regulations. The number of classes increased. Peeblesshire held classes for the first time in 1948-1949 while Roxburghshire renewed its interest in adult education by holding classes again in the same year. The subsidies from the Extra-Mural Committee grants were no longer required. By 1950-1951 the number of county classes had increased to 55 (1256 students), the highest number so far recorded, only to fall in the following years as a result of an increase in fees charged to students in compliance with governmental economic measures. Two years later there were only 26 classes (593 students) in the same area, and it took another eight years propaganda effort to raise the number over forty again. The amount of the fee paid seemed to have a considerable effect in the county districts but not to affect the city classes to such an extent. A summary of the number of classes held in the south-eastern counties and the enrolment of students, where known, is given at Appendix XI. In the same period the city's

figures showed a different trend. In 1950-1951 there were 39 classes (1396 students) conducted by the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association in the University. The numbers rose in the next session to 43 classes with 1607 students and then steadily to 67 classes with 2786 students in 1955-1956 with a slight recession next year of 200 students only to recover again immediately and rise in 1958-1959 to 80 classes and 3367 students. The loss in 1956-1957 occurred in a year of increase of fees which was also the year of petrol restrictions caused by the Suez Canal crisis. The progress of enrolment in Edinburgh classes is shown at Appendix II.

In 1949 the University decided to appoint its first full-time Director of Extra-Mural Studies. Glasgow University had appointed its first Director in 1946. The new director was responsible to the University and would cooperate with the several local education authorities and voluntary adult educational bodies in the region. The University Extra-Mural Committee itself changed its nature and function. Originally a small university body of eight members formed to administer the grant from the University Court, the committee grew in number through the years as the various county educational trusts and local education authorities began to make contributions to the University for adult education work in

their areas. As each new body contributed, its representative was given a place at the meetings of the committee. The Joint Advisory Committee on Adult Education for South-East Scotland included all the members of the Extra-Mural Committee, the county representatives and members of the voluntary bodies. The work of the two committees covered much the same ground. The Advisory Committee, therefore, recommended that the University be invited "to extend the membership of the Extra-Mural Committee to include a full representation of the agencies engaged in adult education of a cultural type in Edinburgh and south-east Scotland." (1) This was done and the Joint Advisory Committee was convened in March 1950 for the last time after twenty-two years existence. The new Extra-Mural Committee met in the June following and has since exercised surveillance over the adult educational classes in the area. The Director of Extra-Mural Studies became the general organiser of the classes and collaborated in recommending and arranging the classes for the several authorities. In general, the University has engaged and paid the tutors, lecturers' fees and travelling expenses being recovered from the local education authorities. The local authority has looked after advertising and the recruit-

1. Joint Advisory Committee: Report on Schemes of Adult Education: Minutes.

ment of students and the University has paid for the staff and administration of the Extra-Mural Department.

The expected expansion of the work followed quickly and the Extra-Mural Department itself had to increase its staff. By 1958-1959 there were no fewer than 204 classes in the area with an enrolment of 5909 students in the organisation of which the Department took some share. The traditional subjects continued to attract students but the reports of the Committee indicate new developments in the expanding system of organised adult education which would have caused surprise even a quarter of a century earlier. In the city, classes in social studies have been organised for members of the various branches of the Townswomen's Guild while, in the country, the Scottish Women's Rural Institute movement has cooperated. The work of the Townswomen's Guilds has been of a rising standard and has been the inspiration of further activity by the groups. For example, as a result of a class in Scottish history the women of Liberton staged a pageant of local history while another group at Corstorphine took part in a revival of a village fair. Each of these projects involved considerable research on the part of the women themselves. Classes, too, have helped to give new life to local associations and organisations. As a

result of a series of classes in the appreciation of art over a few years an art society was formed at Coldstream which has held exhibitions jointly with the local photographic society; at Duns new life was brought to a historical society by collaboration in several series of lectures. A class in public speaking at the mining village of Blackridge in West Lothian was responsible for the formation of a Toc H group. When a class in literature was linked with the travelling library service there was benefit to both. The same period has seen greater cooperation with existing educational bodies. Successful courses have been held for and with bodies like the Saltire Society, the Natural History Society, the Aquinas Society, the Astronomical Society and the Young Men's Christian Association. Perhaps this is also an indication of the social change that affects education. Costs are now so high that some of these bodies are unable any longer to support their adult educational work financially. By collaboration with the extra-mural department and the local education authority they are able to continue their special educational function and to retain their membership. Adult education can in this way be an inspiration to a village or community. Far from usurping the place of existing associations it can revitalise and expand community life.

The more recent records of extra-mural study have shown closer collaboration with governmental and official bodies in the provision of courses specially devised for their employees and exclusively arranged for them. The tuition might be classed as largely vocational but the education authorities have preferred to place its superintendence in the hands of the university in order to ensure standards. Such courses have been held for workers interested in the child care services, for police officers in the study of crime from the psychological, legal and social points of view, for persons concerned with the administration of pensions and grants, on the family and the community while social economics applied to their needs was sought by members of the Women's Voluntary Services and the Citizen's Advice Bureau. Clergymen have had courses organised specially for their needs on the development of social study and the relationship of religion to other academic subjects.

Traditionally adult education classes have been held in the evenings at the end of the day's work but some of these new classes have been held during the day. Housewives have been free to attend in the mornings while youth leaders and the police have met in the afternoons. Clergymen attended on Monday mornings. Release from employment to attend classes

is becoming more and more accepted nationally. The civil service itself has led the way. The assistants in children's homes have been released in this way. Their courses must be completed in time to allow their return to their homes by the time the children have returned from school.

In the realm of business, vocational-cultural tuition has also played a part. Prior to 1954 an evening sessional course was held in business management in the winter and spring terms and in vocational and industrial psychology in the summer. It soon became evident that the treatment of managerial subjects was better done at a higher level and under less formal conditions than those of an ordinary adult education evening class. In collaboration, the Department of Commerce of the University of Edinburgh and the Extra-Mural Department planned the first advanced management seminars which have further developed into the residential courses for business managers. "The aim of the course," as stated in the prospectus, "is to encourage the development of a broader understanding of business problems and of the environment in which business operates." Teaching is by seminar method, group discussion, syndicate work and case-study. So great has been the success of this advanced work that the courses have been oversubscribed each session. In June 1960

the scheme was carried further to provide an internal university post-graduate course extending over the whole academic year leading to the award of a diploma in management studies. This is a modern example of a university undertaking a full-time course for diploma purposes as a natural development from what was originally planned as a part-time evening adult education class.

Farmers and lawyers have had courses arranged in a similar fashion. Here the Extra-Mural Department has collaborated with the Department of Administrative Law. Courses in the intricacies of farming law and finance have been held both in Edinburgh and in Hawick while qualified lawyers have returned to the University to study extra-murally in special courses on income tax legislation, industrial law and administration. That these courses are also oversubscribed each year would seem to indicate that there may be a much wider field for adult education of this nature than has been realised up to the present.

All this extension of the work has involved increased expenditure of both local and national funds and the funds of the University. The cost of adult education in the south-east of Scotland for tutors' fees and expenses alone

amounted to over £10,000 while the cost to the University of the Extra-Mural Department exceeded £8,000 in 1960. This sum, though small compared with expenditure on other projects, must be compared with the meagre sums expended some twenty and more years earlier. It is symptomatic of the considerable change of outlook on adult education both by the general public who seek out appropriate classes and the administration which is responsible both for providing them and financing them. Much of the expansion has been due to the influence of the University itself and its interpretation of its function. While a hundred years ago those who struggled to establish the university extension movement had to struggle to convince their colleagues, modern extra-mural work has been described in official circles as "the shop-window of the University."

It was in 1949 also that changes took place in the schemes for adult education in H.M. Forces. (see Appendix XIII) The ad hoc Regional Committee for Adult Education in H.M. Forces which had given service for some nine years was disbanded on 1st April 1949. Its duties were taken over by a Services Sub-Committee of the Extra-Mural Committee whose main purpose was responsibility for the general direction, administration and coordination of civilian assistance to

the forces in the region. This committee continued its duties for the next eleven years during the period of compulsory national service until 30th June 1960 when a new scheme is expected to come into operation. From that date a looser connection with the services commands will be created in view of the much smaller number of troops in the region and the change in character in the army from a conscript army to a professional one. The Director of Extra-Mural Studies was the secretary of the Services Sub-Committee and through his department during the eleven years of the Committee's existence no fewer than 2515 lectures were arranged for the various services in 450 courses while 6918 sessions were held by 510 classes. In addition arrangements were made for some 86 intensive or residential courses. Details are given at Appendix XVI.

Of other bodies whose adult educational work has extended over a long period of years right into the present the Young Men's Christian Association movement deserves special mention. Besides its specifically religious object and appeal the Y.M.C.A. has throughout its hundred years or more recognised the educational value of public lectures by competent lecturers. Very soon after the inception of the Association movement by Sir George Williams in 1844 "a series of lectures

of educational value was included in the programme of regular work." (1) Edinburgh Y.M.C.A. has been no exception and its lecture programmes are preserved in the annual reports of the association. The repute of the lecture programme was such that well-known names occur frequently in the syllabuses, Hugh Miller, Robert Ramsay, R.M. Ballantyne, Dr Candlish, Dr Kelman, George Gilfillan, to mention only a few. In 1907 one of the most important lectures was the inauguration in the Edinburgh area by the then General Baden Powell of his new scouting movement. The annual report of 1923 reviewed the work of the association in maintaining and developing in Edinburgh an interest in lectures of an informative and educational character. "Its example has been followed by several organisations in the city and its help has been requested and willingly given to promoters of similar courses in various parts of the country." (2)

Besides the more formal lecture programme the Y.M.C.A. literary, elocution and other societies catered for the special needs of individual members. One of these was the public speaking club. "The primary aim of the instruction was to get the members to face an audience." (3) The Y.M.C.A.

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1. Y.M.C.A. Edinburgh: Report: 1931
 2. *ibid*: 1922
 3. *ibid*: 1912

itself cooperated with other bodies in the organisation of courses. For example, from 1921, courses on social and economic subjects were arranged in collaboration with the East of Scotland Area Committee of the Scottish Economic League whereby series of classes were held under university lecturers. These classes met one week for a lecture and questions on it and in the following week for debate on the theme of the lecture. In one session no fewer than three Members of Parliament took part in the series. The Y.M.C.A. played its part in army education during the world wars (see Appendix XIII) but it also entered the field of instructional studies for the unemployed of the early 1930s. Its efforts were identified with the plans of those who were seeking to promote the School of Reconstruction and Land Settlement (Village Community) Society. For its lecturers in its courses it had the services of members of the staffs of the College of Agriculture, the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College and the Edinburgh Public Libraries. (1) In more recent years classes in the Y.M.C.A. programme have been organised jointly with the University Extra-Mural Department and Edinburgh Corporation Education Committee. When the new prison was erected at Saughton, at the request of H.M. Prison Commissioners for Scotland, social work was undertaken on behalf

1. *ibid*: 1934.

of the Borstal boys and the men generally. Courses were organised first in travel and musical subjects and audiences numbered about 100. By 1923 H.M.Prison Commissioner for Scotland wrote, "The lecture course has always been considered a valuable aid in the training and reclamation of the prisoners under their charge, as it tends to widen their mental outlook and awaken interests that may influence them for good. " (1) Within five years the Prison Commissioners commended the scheme again and indicated that the practice had been extended to other prisons. It had become an essential feature of prison administration "partly in order to take the minds of those in captivity away from their material surroundings but, more importantly, to attempt to widen their mental and moral horizons and change their viewpoint towards society." (2) This pioneer work gradually came under the aegis of the local education authority who from the end of the second World War have organised classes in the winter and in the summer sessions. To supplement this work the University has from time to time also provided short series and single lectures in recent years. The statistics for this work are given at Appendix III.

1. quoted in Y.M.C.A.Edinburgh Report 1923.

2. Report of H.M.Prison Commission for Scotland 1928.

There has been little Y.M.C.A. work in the south-east of Scotland outside the city of Edinburgh. The Y.M.C.A. organisations have been few and have mostly had a social rather than an educational appeal.

The links between the city of Edinburgh and the University are of long standing and have been of an intimate character. The University is the Tounis College and was founded by the town. The ties between town and gown became less after the passing of the Universities Act last century which separated the government of the University from the Town Council but the Lord Provost has continued to be a member of the University Court and is one of the Curators of Patronage of the University. In 1951 the Director of Extra-Mural Studies suggested that the friendly relationship would be strengthened if an annual series of three public lectures was given to afford to the citizens of Edinburgh an opportunity to hear the teachers of the University and at the same time to give the teachers a wider audience than that of their student classes. The venture received the whole-hearted support of the University and the Lord Provost and magistrates of the time. Their successors in office have continued the patronage. The lectures are held in the Council

Chamber itself and, whenever possible, the chair has been taken by the Lord Provost or, in his occasional absence, by the senior bailie. The audiences have generally taxed the capacity of the chamber. More than 300 members of the public have attended each lecture and the interest seems no less after nine years than it was in the inaugural session. There have been up to 1960 some twenty-seven lectures in the series, a large number of which have been published. (1)

This type of adult education by the public lecture has been a feature of the Edinburgh scene for about a century or so, but the Town and Gown lectures alone have been sponsored by the city and the university acting together. The St Giles lectures of last century were given in the High Kirk of St Giles on Sunday afternoons. They were begun in 1880 and continued in that decade. Six volumes have been published. Although they dealt primarily with religious history, biography, comparative religion and similar subjects they were well attended. Each year had a theme and the series was the basis of sound educational teaching. (2) Some of the series were repeated in Glasgow and in Dundee and the sixth volume

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1. A complete list of the 'Town and Gown' lectures is given at Appendix XII.
 2. St Giles Lectures: 1st series 1880-1881 to 6th series 1885-1886:(Chambers)

gives a list of churches throughout the country where the lectures were read to the congregations. Their influence was thus felt far beyond the nave and transepts of the High Kirk of Edinburgh.

Various societies have held regular annual lectures or short series of lectures financed usually from some endowment funds. The Keith lectures go back to the first half of last century in their origin. The Rhind lectures of the Society of Antiquaries have been held since 1876. University departments also offer to the public lectures by specialists and distinguished lecturers, mostly financed from endowment funds. The best known of these are the Gifford lectures, instituted, in 1889, to promote "the study of natural theology," the Gunning lectures, founded in 1887, dealing with natural science, and the Munro lectures, founded in 1910, in anthropological and prehistoric archaeological subjects. With the passage of time more and more memorial or commemorative lectures are being offered. Seldom does a week pass when some such lecture is not advertised in the columns of The Scotsman and the various local newspapers.

There continues a big gap between the expressed demand for adult education and the need for it which is unfortunately not realised by the large majority of the people. The causes

have been social and include the failure of the school, and especially the junior secondary school, to inspire the young people before they leave with a desire for education and a love of learning. Education in schools, colleges, and universities has throughout the years tended to busy itself in teaching the artisan and the professional man the technique of earning a living. Adult education, however, has recognised the need to teach men and women how to live and has hoped to give them the opportunity to employ wisely and happily their leisure hours and so to live up to the level of their potentialities. Over the years writers have quoted that 'knowledge is power' but Principal Taylor of Aberdeen University at the inaugural meeting of the Scottish Institute of Adult Education in 1949 expressed it differently.

"Liberal as opposed to technical education was concerned with knowledge that was wisdom rather than with knowledge that was power." (1) Comprehension and understanding was the enlargement of experience, the exploration of the meaning of the environment in which the student lived. It was an echo of Newman who was discussing the place the university should take in the educational system of the country. "It

1. The Scotsman: 10th October 1949.

shows a man how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them." (1) The University itself in the south-east of Scotland has recognised its position but because of local government and governmental system of finance for adult educational work it has to keep convincing the elected members of the community, who hold the local purse-strings and who have themselves probably suffered under the scholastic system, that adult education is wisdom and a worthwhile provision for their constituents.

1. Newman: The Idea of a University: (Longmans)

VII: TECHNIQUE OF ADULT EDUCATION UP TO 1900:

While adult education was developing there was also growing up a technique of teaching adults. At each age the teachers or tutors of adult education had to adapt their methods of presentation to the capabilities of their students and their ability to benefit by the instruction offered to them. Socrates was the master of the dialectical method. He spent his days cross-examining all who came to him and making them more aware of the ignorance which they mistook for knowledge. In ancient Greece there was no lecturing as we know lectures today. The instruction was oral and it was a system of interrogation whose object was to define in clear terms rather than merely to supply information.

In the Jewish system the teaching was by the rabbi who was acknowledged as a master of the power and technique of argument. Learning in Palestine proceeded by a kind of discussion method. Among the evidence is the story of the finding of Jesus in the temple both listening to and asking questions of the teachers. The Roman period saw further change. The declamations of Seneca were to influence the

adult population and Quintilian was to insist on the ethical basis of oratory. With the acceptance of Christianity in the Roman Empire in 337 A.D., adult education took on increasingly a religious and moral character. Boethius became the great teacher through his writings and works. It was to Boethius' family, too, that Benedict belonged who founded the monastery of Monte Casino in 529, the date which has been taken by many as the approximate beginning of the Middle Ages. At least it was the beginning of an order which was conspicuous for the best part of the next thousand years by its learning and teaching. It was in the Benedictine rule that "Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Therefore at certain times the brethren must be occupied in the labour of the hands and again at certain hours in divine study." Working and learning went hand in hand. Adult education was bound up with the church; the ordinary people received their meagre share through preaching; the scholars learned at the monasteries and many are known to have come to Scotland. Education was throughout the great classical period right up to the invention of printing largely an adult education, perhaps in advanced form for the very few, but for all at a lower level. Much of the education was religious, philosophical and political in the classical sense of the word. The view of Aristotle

was upheld that if any subject was to be studied with interest and intelligence it had to be by those who knew something of the subject matter from experience. The young "have seen very little of either life or men.... They repeat themselves without conviction." (1) Aristotle added that that did not prevent the young from speaking about matters of moment although the value of their opinions was small.

The Middle Ages brought about a great reverence for the doctors or learned men, both the wandering scholars and the great teachers of the monasteries. The Renaissance, however, brought great change in the method of adult teaching. "Authority took the place of reasoning and the lecture was substituted for the symposium. What the people then wanted was information and the lecturer was distinguished rather for his power of exposition than for his subtlety in reasoning." (2) The people felt that they had been in darkness for so long. They were anxious to hear and benefit from the new learning and anyone who could expound it to them was a master worthy of their attention.

The Reformation in Scotland made little difference to

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1. Aristotle: *Eth.Nic.i.3.5.* cf. Livingstone: *The Future of Education*: (Cambridge 1941) p.8.
 2. Sir Philip Magnus: *Educational Aims and Efforts 1880-1910*: (Longmans 1910) p.250.

the technique except that the printed word was now available. Books could be distributed widely and the scholars did not require, to the same extent, to go from place to place to read the few copies of the magna opera of the great of the past. Copies were now more readily available. The emphasis on education also passed at the Reformation in Scotland from the adult to the child. Adult education was to lose its place of pre-eminence for the succeeding centuries and its almost total eclipse was to last more than three hundred years. It was probably by the same design in reality that the various totalitarian states of the twentieth century laid great stress on the education and upbringing of the young. Just as the new political theories of the various ideologies of the twentieth century had to be spread quickly so the new philosophy of religion had to be established and where better to plant its seeds than in the minds of the young. The adult was left to the clergy while effort after effort was made to have education in schools for the children. The technique of adult education did not change materially until the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It came then at an elementary level. Classes began to be organised, in most cases by philanthropic bodies and individuals, to teach reading for

the dissemination of religious truths. The technique was a teaching rather than a lecturing one and the methods used in many cases were those of the monitorial system employed by men like Bell and Lancaster. Classes were generally large and had to be divided into groups. The reports of the Lancastrian schools in Edinburgh record how the more able pupils passed on the information to others in small groups while the master superintended all. In adult education this system was probably satisfactory so long as philanthropy took care of the expenses or so long as teachers could be found who regarded this work as a social service, or their mission in life. It was also satisfactory in adult education so long as elementary subjects, such as reading and writing, were the main subjects of study, but with the growing scientific requirements of the industrial revolution higher learning was required. The promoters of such organisations as the Edinburgh School of Arts and the various Mechanics' Institutions already mentioned sought to establish seminaries which, though perhaps not making any profit, could balance their books at the end of the session. In order to cover expenses large classes were required. The story of the struggle for finance by many well-meaning bodies of citizens in the interests of the ordinary man has yet to be written but it will be a sad and disappointing one. Ideals had so often to be sac-

rified through lack of the wherewithal to put them into practice. Hence in the early period of these adult institutions instruction was given to large numbers in lecture form. Exercises were prescribed but there was little instruction of a tutorial nature. Many did not perform the exercises. Occasional references indicate that some of the lecturers did arrive early or remain late to give additional assistance to those students who requested it but that was a voluntary practice on the part of the lecturers. Lecture periods were for the most part of one hour's duration and the students were expected to follow up the lectures in private in the libraries and reading rooms which grew up simultaneously with the classes.

The lecture became the accepted method of instruction and the need to recover expenses made it essential to attract large audiences. It was because of financial difficulties that many of the institutions had to suspend operations, especially those established in small towns and in country districts where the number of suitably qualified students was small and where lecturers had to travel long distances to impart their knowledge. The courses in the earlier part of the nineteenth century at the School of Arts and similar institutions were intended to be liberal in the sense that

they were not designed expressly for the benefit of any branch of industry. "It is not intended to teach the trade of the carpenter, the mason, the dyer or any other particular business: but there is no trade which does not depend, more or less, upon scientific principles: and to teach what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the business of this establishment (i.e. the School of Arts). He who unites a thorough knowledge of the principles of his art with that dexterity which practice and practice only can give will be the most complete and probably the most successful tradesman." (1) The technique of adult education was to provide the lectures on the broader principles, to open up particular branches of learning. There was no opportunity for the students to undertake experimental work but there is ample evidence from accounts and expenses sheets that the lecturers gave demonstrations from their rostra to illustrate the various aspects of their subjects. The notion of what we today regard as practical classes, consisting of fewer than twenty students who have the opportunity to conduct experiment or examination for themselves, was far from the practice of the time. The numbers enrolled for classes were far too large. Afterwards the promoters hoped

1. Edinburgh Review: no.81.

that it might be possible to devise subsequent courses of lectures on particular branches of science appropriate to particular trades or vocations but their hopes were never fulfilled.

In these early days courses lasted throughout the six winter months. Short courses were not favoured. It was argued that it was necessary to have courses of that length to do any justice to the subject matter and to prevent the standard being lowered. It was the same criticism that was to be levelled more than half a century later at Oxford University when short courses were introduced into the extension scheme. Though short courses might be of considerable value in stimulating interest and in adding to the income of the movement, "their establishment as a complete system would inevitably lower the standard and nullify the educational aims of the movement." (1) It was the same argument that was used more recently against short courses at residential colleges like Newbattle Abbey College. (2) It is an argument for which an ample case can be made both for and against. The critics claim that short courses are attractive to the dilettante who is not prepared to settle down to any part-

1. Parry: Cambridge Essays on Adult Education: (Cambridge 1920) p.163.

2. Newbattle College Minutes.

icular branch of learning and quote Pope about the dangers of a little learning. They forget, however, that a little learning is perhaps the first step to a greater learning later. On the other hand, the modern short courses that can only be open to those with primary academic qualifications in the subject, like the Edinburgh course on the developments in modern chemistry, are only just as long as required to transmit the information desired and to stimulate further discussion and research. The length of the course either popular in its appeal or more intensive for the serious student may not be a matter of real moment. A long course is not ipso facto a good course nor a short one necessarily a bad one. Courses have regularly been devised merely to make them conform to a predetermined number of lectures although they might have been completed in a shorter period. Unfortunately this has often been done to enable them to qualify for some grant or other. It secures a degree of conformity to make courses last a standard number of hours or sessions. This has often been the case in regard to classes organised through Continuation Class Codes and similar regulations. The determining factor should be the preservation of the quality of the work consistent with the educational aims. This does not require courses which are "sufficiently prolonged, sys-

tematic and intensive," as desired by Professor Raybould, (1) however laudable it might be to have some such courses for the most serious and earnest students. Even a short spell under a university teacher can bring the new student to realise how the university, as distinct from other educational institutions, gives a breadth of outlook with all the accuracy of thought and critical analysis that lays open every question brought under review.

Most adult education work today in the south-east of Scotland has developed along the lines of what was known as university extension. The technique has changed but little. A lecture period is followed by a discussion with suggestions for further reading and study, all, however, without examination. It bears, as university extension bore, a similarity, as Sir Philip Magnus pointed out, to the system in existence before the old universities of Bologna and Paris were founded nearly a thousand years ago. (2) A group of lecturers, then and now, dependent on others for the use of lecture rooms, travelled the city and countryside, imparting the information they had gained from their books, travels and experiments,

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1. Raybould: The English Universities and Adult Education: (W.E.A.)
 2. Magnus: op.cit. p.250.

eager to share it with those willing to listen to them. Neither the students of old nor those of today belonged to any privileged class. They were and are the ordinary people, the traders and the clerks, the farmers and the merchants. Adult education of this type has not changed. It is still part of a kind of peripatetic university for adults bearing strong resemblance to the dream of James Stuart.

In Scotland the expedient employed by Oxford and Cambridge and London of granting certificates of varying degree to assiduous students at extension courses did not win the favour it received in England. University extension began in England with Stuart as an attempt to bring higher education to the working people and to provide a means of satisfying the requirements of women in the same sphere. While women continued and have continued to take advantage of adult education schemes, the working men have given way to the middle classes. The technique has been blamed for the loss of the working men. "The conditions which hindered their success among working people have partly been identified with those which have lowered their educational value. Extension lectures have tended to be unduly discontinuous and unsystematic: class-work has not on the whole developed to the extent originally intended and there has been too little

regular contact between teacher and students." (1) Forty years later it might be argued that the reasons for the persistence of the non-attendance of the working classes, usually given as lack of interest and apathy, was in reality their inability to profit by the instruction given which was beyond their intellectual capacity.

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1. Appendix to Report of Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919; reprinted Design for Democracy: (Parrish 1956) p.193.

VIII: TUTORIAL METHODS:

Into this university extension scheme of lectures came over half a century ago the Workers' Educational Association to support similar courses but to develop in 1908 its own special style of class, what became known as University Tutorial Classes. This was a deliberate attempt by the founder to answer the charges made at university extension in regard to the attendance of the working people. Tutorial classes were three years' study classes in which a large part of the time of each evening, about half, was devoted to discussion. A considerable amount of written work was required from the members attending. The student was pledged at enrolment to attend for the required period and to perform the work of the class as required. A change had to take place in the technique of teaching. The lecture of the Middle Ages and the discussion of the ancients were married in the tutorial class. The tutor devoted part of each evening to lecturing or elucidating material which had already been studied or was about to be studied by the students. Question and discussion followed, leading to the written work and further reading. In the latter part of the evening the tutor

shared with the members of the class his knowledge and their experience. His was often a difficult task and he had to be endowed with the spirit of a calling to the work. He had to win first the confidence of his class. He generally could expect one chance to make his impression and then he had to weld the variety of men and women of different age, experience, temperament and environment into a class with a common denominator. The tutor had not only to have "the scholarship and power of exposition of the competent university lecturer but also the quick perception, the tact and the stimulating method of approach by which a successful host or master of ceremonies makes a party 'go' while drawing into the social circle even the shyest of guests." (1)

The tutorial class movement expanded rapidly in England but it was not in fact the answer for working men. Many tried it but were unable to benefit as they might have done had they had wider background knowledge or greater intelligence. It is pertinent to observe that even the first such class held at Langton in 1908 was not entirely composed of working people. Mansbridge himself records that of the thirty odd students, one third were manual

1. The Tutor in Adult Education - an enquiry into the problems of supply and training: (Carnegie Trust 1928)

workers, a quarter were teachers, a fifth clerks, three housewives and the rest shopkeepers. (1) The class had what has been described in certain quarters as an aura of middle class. It was ten years later before the first tutorial class was held in the Edinburgh area, just at the end of the first World War. This type of class did not find much favour either with students or administrators (2) and although it persisted for a number of years it had in its original form more or less disappeared before the second World War. This does not mean that education of the standard of the best tutorial class was and is not available. It is provided by a different technique.

The organiser of education for Dundee, writing in 1922, claimed that, "Scots artisan students incline to be oratorical, to make speeches instead of making comments and submitting points for elucidation." (3) It was also considered that the Scottish lecturer had less skill to guide a discussion of a selected theme. "Our Scots university tradition connects more with the pulpit than with Plato." (4) The

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1. The Tutor's Bulletin: no.85:p.14.
 2. W.E.A.:Edinburgh Branch Minutes: passim.
 3. The Glasgow Herald: 4th February 1922.
 4. ibid.

imparting of knowledge had perhaps greater place in the Scottish tradition than the development of the mind by argument, conference and discussion. The report of the Advisory Council of Edinburgh School Board in 1913-1914 thought otherwise.

"Members of the Advisory Committee wish to express their satisfaction in particular in the classes of philosophy and economics.... They found the students quick in the apprehension of the problems set for discussion and able to carry on the debate with no mean dialectical skill." (1)

Classes of a tutorial nature in the mid-twentieth century in Edinburgh have tended to be sessional classes. Where a subject can be divided into independent sections the practice has been, of late, to take up one aspect in each session and to develop this to as high a standard as possible. The second and remaining aspects of the subject are discussed in the second and succeeding years. By the end of three years or more the students have obtained a fairly thorough knowledge of the subject, much more advanced than they could have obtained had they studied only a part of the complete subject in each year. In addition, the class is more likely to continue for three years as it is really a fresh class each session, new students taking the place of those who have

1. Edinburgh School Board: Advisory Council Report: 1913-1914.

left. In this way genuine tutorial class students see the end of the course because the class is not axed through lack of numbers in its second or third year. Students thus commence study in any year and know that by the end of three or more years they have won the knowledge they are seeking. This, of course, does not apply to all subjects. There are still courses which cannot easily be divided into sections in this way but they must be few in number that the able lecturer cannot so arrange.

It may be objected that in this system there may be some overlap from year to year but that same overlap will be good for students: it will serve as revision for those who have heard it before: it may stimulate discussion and provide the real link with the earlier aspects of the subject. In country areas, especially, where only small numbers are available for the intensive study of any given subject for three years, a method of grouped sessional classes, extending over three years is probably as much as might reasonably be expected and much better than no class at all. Adult education subjects such as the study of art or archaeology, the appreciation of music, history, literature, geography, and the like lend themselves to such division over a period of years. Other subjects like the art of writing, harmony,

foreign language study, mathematics and some scientific subjects are less easy, if not impossible, to divide, because each succeeding section of the study depends on the more elementary which has gone before.

The Advisory Council on Further Education in Edinburgh recommended that many subjects would be better split into sections of about twelve lectures before and another twelve after Christmas to enable students feel a sense of some achievementⁱⁿ that they had come to the end of a part of the course. Courses lasting the whole session might be too long for some: tutorial courses lasting three years might seem a life-time and be rejected as impossible of achievement. (1) By mastering small sections of a subject at a time the student might gradually become master of the whole: by studying cognate subjects in separate years a complex academic study might be mastered. The adult educator must decide whether he is interested in creating honours graduates or specialists in some field of learning or whether he hopes by the facilities of study to enable the ordinary man who has qualified and is probably a specialist in his own employment to lead a richer and fuller life. There might be a case for both groups but,

1. Edinburgh School Board: Advisory Council on Further Education: Report: 1914.

by definition, a liberal adult education would seem to imply the latter. Indeed, it was just such an idea which last century underlay the ordinary Master of Arts degree of the Scottish universities, which insisted on the quadrivium and the trivium which gave the graduates a broad and valuable education however much the specialist of today may decry the generalities possible in the present degree.

IX: THE TUTOR IN ADULT EDUCATION:

The qualities required of the tutor of a tutorial class of the early days continue to be required in the present and apply equally to the type of extra-mural class organised today. The lecture may be formal or informally broken by questions. It may be read or delivered or just spoken either from notes or without them. The read paper is rarely the most successful, however excellent the English or the logic of the thought. The students who attend have probably all come after an exhausting day. Their minds require to be kept active. The read paper, however well it may be written and read, does not, as a rule, give any incentive to activity of the mind. Indeed the better it has been prepared the less successful it often is. The spoken lecture, even although the lecturer has verbatim or copious notes, stimulates interest and encourages the students to think and probably to question at the appropriate time. The students are more likely to be led along the line of thought by the various inflections or gestures of the lecturer. They feel that they are developing the theme along with the lecturer. If the lecturer can show enthusiasm for his subject he will infect his class with the same enthusiasm. "The best way to

spread the demand for evening classes is to provide with understanding and imagination for the students' needs." (1)

The best way to keep a class is likewise to have understanding of a student's needs and to fire his imagination. The most successful tutors deal with their classes as units but at the same time concern themselves with the development of the minds and personalities of the individuals forming the class. The approach to the adult student must be one of equality and humility. The student has come of his own free will, an adult with a wealth of experience derived from the skills of his employment and from meeting and associating with other men and women. Because he has so far had little time or perhaps inclination for cultural development he has come later in life to an adult class. If received in a sympathetic manner, with respect for his own vast knowledge, he will be ready to learn from the experience of the lecturer, however slight that might be in the world of affairs by reason of his age. The adult student will learn willingly and the tutor will find him quite a different character from the undergraduate who in many cases only wishes to meet the university's requirements and to collect his 'duly performed' certificate. The serious-minded adult education student will

1. Ministry of Education Pamphlet no.28: Evening Institutes: foreword: p.ii.

seek for knowledge, will read prescribed books willingly, and even although limited in his basic education will give a good response. Indeed, some university lecturers in Edinburgh have obtained work from their adult classes commensurate with that done by their honours undergraduates. The same opinion was also reported in the Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1919. (1)

Adult teaching is generally acknowledged to be refreshing and stimulating to the university lecturer, an idea often mentioned in magazine articles. (2) Lecturers in adult education, however, must teach as well as lecture. The adult education technique is a combination of the lecture room and the seminar. There have to be, on the part of the lecturer, periods of listening as well as periods of speaking, and, if discussion is lagging, the lecturer must supply the impetus to further discussion. In this respect he must be up-to-date, not only in his subject but in knowledge of the world of affairs around him. His point of entry into the discussion might, in 1960, be a television programme of the previous evening, a cartoon in the local paper, an

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1. Report on Adult Education: see section on Standards and report of Professor Hobhouse and H.M.I.J.W.Headlam: 1910.
 2. cf. Adult Education: winter 1959: pp.192ff. &c.

event of prominence in any part of the world and so on. It does not much matter so long as there is some common ground between him and the students. Professor Peers suggests that the success of adult education "must be measured finally in terms of the influence which the teacher has been able to exert on the minds and purposes of those who come to him for inspiration and guidance in their studies." (1) This lays great stress and responsibility on the tutor. Fifty or a hundred years ago the tutor had practically no competitor for the leisure time of the student. There was no competitor to his voice and what he might do on the lecture platform or the demonstration bench. Education was at that time principally, almost entirely, an oral and literary education. The people learned by listening and reading. That was the practice of the Mechanics' Institutions. The student attended the lecture demonstration and then followed up by reading in the library. From the 1870s when education first became the care of the state the whole educational system was based and built up from literary experience. Progress was made at the voice of the teacher. For the first quarter century of compulsory education the voice was virtually supreme. Into that world came first the picture in the

1. Peers: Adult Education - A Comparative Study: (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1958) p.207.

book and from that the picture thrown on the screen by the old limelight lantern. People started to learn in a new way by seeing in the classroom. It was not an unnatural way of learning for people had done so for centuries when out in the fields or streets. Gargantua had advised Pantagruel to study the works of nature in the sea, on the land, and the metals under the land. "Let nothing of all these things be hidden from thee." (1) Comenius and others had preached the same philosophy of learning. Now vision was being used in the classroom. The limelight picture was widely employed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and not least by the Church itself in its temperance and Sunday school teaching. Adults hastened to attend the churches and village halls. They marvelled at the pictures thrown on the screen, crude though they were by modern standards. Their knowledge of places and things was expanding.

1. Rabelais: quoted by S.S.Laurie; Educational Opinion from the Renaissance: p.51.

X. MODERN AIDS IN ADULT EDUCATION:

It was not to be long before the picture was to give the illusion of movement. The cinematograph was to enter the scene as a powerful competitor for the interest and leisure time of the people. Moving pictures were shown for the first time in Scotland on 13th April 1896 in the Empire Palace Theatre, Edinburgh. (1) The current affairs of the nation at the time, the movements of the royal family, and local events came to life on the screen. The films of the brothers Lumiere and their imitators began to bring the outside world to the captive cinema audience. The first pictures were documentary and educational; entertainment films came later. The nation became picture-minded almost overnight and for thousands and later for millions the cinema became teacher, entertainer and friend. The cinema became the real centre of the social life of the community. The cinema captured the large masses of the people. Educationists were slow to realise for their purpose the value of the picture, either still or moving, for education of any kind, let alone adult

1. The Scotsman: 14th May 1896: cf. Scottish Educational Film Association: Educational Film Bulletin: no.33 (1946) p.5.

education. Indeed, it was not till the 1930s that educationists really admitted the cinema projector into the classrooms of the school or university, although its value had been recorded in Edinburgh in 1919. "A demonstration of educational cinematography was given in Bruntsfield School Hall to members of the Authority and Continuation Class teachers. It is very likely that this important adjunct to the classroom may be used in certain continuation classes in the future." (1) The present writer gave his first educational lecture with films as illustration to an adult audience, in a church hall in 1933, using silent films, and his first with sound films about four years later. The old lantern slide had come to life. Too often educationists in school, university and elsewhere have failed to take into account the effectiveness on the public of the picture, whether in the shape of cinema film or strip from a newspaper; too often the picture that the public flocks to see has been condemned; too often lecturers have laboriously spent words and precious time to explain what the eyes could have understood in a picture. A lady lecturer once jubilantly declared to the writer, while reporting on a history class for women, that she had spent a profitable half-hour describing

1. Edinburgh Education Authority: Continuation Classes Report: 1919-1920.

the dress of Mary, Queen of Scots. - A picture could have given the impression in seconds and the remaining time could have been more profitably spent. The Chinese have expressed it succinctly in their proverbial saying, "A picture is worth a thousand words." Illustrations are now widely used by lecturers and teachers of all subjects. Where the psychological reasons for the popularity of the visual image have been analysed by the lecturers they have had successful courses and classes. Where pictures have just been added to a lecture for the sake of pictures the educational value has been slight. Used rightly and wisely by a lecturer, these mechanically produced illustrations can be genuine visual aids in the classroom or lecture theatre. "The film has the power to capture the stir and rhythm of the living world and so is an effective stimulus in the classroom." (1)

Perhaps the greatest use made of visual education was made during the second World War when thousands had to be taught processes and ideas quickly. The three armed services used films in their instructional courses. Many courses previously lasting weeks had to be curtailed in order to

1. Visual & Aural Aids: Cmd.8102: (H.M.S.O.1950) p.16.

equip or qualify men more quickly. This was done by the employment of films. Hundreds of films were made dealing with quite technical subjects of armament and flight, map-reading, care and maintenance of vehicles, and tactics. In the civilian world hundreds of volunteers were trained in fire-fighting, aircraft recognition, rescue work and the like by the use of film. The Ministry of Information produced and exhibited in the cinemas and halls throughout the country household hints, cookery hints and instruction in make-do-and-mend so that the housewife could make the best use of her rationed foodstuffs, clothing and other goods in short supply. The film played a large part in the raising of the morale of the people during the war. It was used to put over the propaganda required to change the peace-loving people of Britain to a wartime life and economy. As the war progressed and the need for still more warlike acts was more imperative the film again came to educate the people even to the extent that they were willing to accept as logical deeds and actions that would have been regarded with horror only shortly before. This film education in the propaganda and instructional field was not new for government. The Empire Marketing Board had produced in the period around 1930 many films which were used educationally. The G.P.O. Film Unit had likewise produced ^avaluable series of educational films.

Agricultural bodies, economic bodies, Dominion and foreign governments, all began to produce films for their own propaganda purposes, directed towards adults to educate them in their way of thinking. When the second World War broke out there were so many of these excellent films and the public were so accustomed to them that the Ministry of Information made widespread use of this medium of education.

Adult education lecturers, however, were slow to appreciate the value of films in connection with their teaching. Apparatus for projection was often not readily available and often the films cost money which organisers either did not have or refused to pay. Films are still often considered frills in an adult education class and one director of education in the south-east of Scotland in 1960 has instructed the Extra-Mural Department of the University that he does not wish to have in his county any lecturer who wishes to use cinematograph film. He may use slides but film is "too much trouble." It is true that not all lecturers have learned the technique of the use of the film. Properly used the film can play as important a part in a lecture as a quotation from a book or the unrolling of a map or diagram. Merely to show a film during the lecture for the sake of showing one is neither adult education nor any other form of education. The

film must be shown at an appropriate moment before, during or after a lecture so that it explains visually some point or points of the lecture and gives greater understanding or stimulates question and discussion. In this way the film can become a genuine visual aid. It is objected that a film is too long or that it has extraneous matter in it. It is not necessary to show a complete film at a lecture. A lecturer would never read from a book a quotation which was longer than necessary for his purpose: He should never use more of the film than is necessary.

Perhaps, however, the commonest visual aid used in adult classes in the south-east of Scotland in the last quarter century is not the moving film but the miniature coloured slide. This is the direct successor of the old slide used in the limelight lantern. Only about a third of the size, 2" x 2", instead of $3\frac{1}{4}"$ x $3\frac{1}{4}"$, it is at the same time lighter, more portable and cheaper to make and maintain. It is easily made by the lecturer himself who has access to a standard 35mm. camera. He can now readily build up a library of slides. He has merely to expose the original picture and the developing firm returns to him a mounted transparency ready for projection, the total cost being included in the original price of the film. This

has made it possible to bring pictures for natural history, geography, archaeology, local history and other purposes into the classroom in full colour. Documents can be copied and projected on the screen. Libraries, like the Library of the University of Edinburgh, now have facilities to assist the lecturer with copying work. These colour slides have revolutionised illustrative material, perhaps most in the field of the teaching of art appreciation where reproductions of the great works of art can now be studied in their real colours instead of in black and white prints or inferior colour prints. The episcope and the epidiascope which can project an illustration from a book have gone out of fashion. The system of reflecting the picture by a series of mirrors does not give such a clear image on the screen. It requires that the room is totally darkened and the apparatus itself is rather bulky and more transportable than portable. It is interesting to record that in session 1959-1960 almost a hundred classes or 51% of all the classes organised by the Extra-Mural Department of Edinburgh University in the city of Edinburgh, the Lothians and the Borders used visual aids of some sort, films, slides or epidiascope at some time during the course, while in 58 classes or just over 30% of the total visual aids of some kind were used each evening. In many cases the lecturers carried the

apparatus with them to outlying districts from the University and returned it next day.

The earliest and simplest visual aid of all is the blackboard but it is surprising how many lecturers do not use it to advantage. So often a lecturer could help himself and the class by writing a word on the board. Even to have the word on the board is recognised in education generally as useful educationally. This is specially true of names and strange words. Illustration on the blackboard is just as necessary in any scheme of adult education as in any scheme of scholastic education. Yet it is surprising how many lecturers still rely on the spoken word to fulfil their entire needs at a lecture. Seeing may be believing but seeing is also understanding, especially for the majority of people who learn so much more visually than they do aurally.

If adult education was slow to change its techniques in connection with the development of pictures, and motion pictures in particular, it did have regard very early to the advantages of radio. The listening group became a feature of the adult education scene but never to the extent that some of its advocates imagined that it would become. The tutor ceased to be a lecturer in the listening group. He

was one of the class during the broadcast talk. He was unable, more often than not, to have much, if any, pre-knowledge of the content of the talk. The British Broadcasting Corporation has always been reluctant to give much detail of its programmes in advance, usually on the plea that by so doing it would be prevented from making last minute changes for the improvement of the programmes. The lecturer was on a level with the class group and had to lead the following discussion. This demanded great skill from the tutor. Occasionally the group listened to the programme in their homes and only came together on another evening to follow up the argument by discussion. In that case the tutor could plan his evening and bring forward any supporting or conflicting views.

Considerable efforts to expand this technique of teaching in adult education were made by the Scottish Education Department in the middle 1930s. It was felt by the Department that this medium offered very great possibilities for awakening cultural interest and activity among all sections of the adult community. "The inspiration of the living voice may now reach the remotest corners of the land and wherever there is to be found an enthusiastic and competent leader there should be no material obstacle to the gathering

together of a group, large or small, of interested listeners ready to be led on to friendly discussion, to reflection and possibly to independent reading." (1) That was the view of His Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools in 1938 when there were in the whole of Scotland 483 students in 26 registered listening groups. By the following year there were 942 students in 49 groups but with the outbreak of war and the curtailment of broadcast programmes listening groups virtually passed from the adult education programme. Experience showed that the success of each group depended to a very large extent on good leadership and every tutor was not necessarily a good leader. Though they may have appeared to the Scottish Education Department and adult education administrations as a ready means of stimulating thought listening groups were not a popular form of adult education in south-east Scotland either with the students in the classes or with the tutors. Perhaps if the war had not come in 1939 listening groups might have established themselves but there was little opportunity at its end when conditions and attitudes had changed so much. Perhaps radio has had its greatest success as an adult educator in the home itself. Through its informal educational talks, discussions and surveys,

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 1938: p.39.

radio has played a great part in the understanding of international affairs and in music and drama it has brought culture to the fireside in a way never previously possible or imagined.

Until the popular use of the tape-recorder it was not easy to record a wireless programme or to make extracts from it for use in class but now some tutors have found it useful to use a short extract on tape as illustrative or explanatory of the subject under discussion. The tutor has felt that playing the recorded voice at the appropriate part of the lecture is more lively than merely reading the quotation as from a book. Such is the technique used by radio and television broadcasters themselves, where the record or film is spliced into the programme to give life to the argument of the programme. This, of course, means much more work for the tutor both in preparation of his lecture and in presenting the extract at the appropriate moment. He is genuinely using an aural aid in his teaching.

In the south-east of Scotland the tape-recorder has also been widely used in music, language teaching and in public speaking. Where no piano or gramophone is available illustrations for a musical lecture can be pre-recorded on tape, the suitable parts being reproduced at the appropriate part

of the lecture. In public speaking or drama study the members of the class can hear and criticise themselves. A controlled use of the tape-recorder can save hours of individual instruction while, if voices are recorded at the beginning of a course, the tape can be preserved and repeated at the end to illustrate the changes which have taken place. The gramophone itself must not be ignored and in these days of Hi-Fi and stereophonic sound lecturers are discovering that what was accepted by students twenty years ago is no longer acceptable. New recordings are required and new apparatus. To cope with the demand the Extra-Mural Department of the University of Edinburgh in 1960 possesses three film projectors for sound and silent films, four projectors for 2" x 2" slides, three for $3\frac{1}{4}$ " x $3\frac{1}{4}$ " slides, with suitable adaptors for other sizes, two episcopes, two tape-recorders, two gramophones, one of which is equipped for stereophonic sound, a micro-slide projection apparatus and a 35mm. camera to make original pictures. During the adult education session this is not even enough and apparatus has to be borrowed from public and private sources. This development has all taken place in the last ten years since the University established its full-time Department of Extra-Mural Studies.

The last decade has brought forcibly into the adult

educational sphere television, a medium appealing both to the eye and the ear, the cinema and the radio in the home at the same time. Adult education had only just come to terms with the cinema and radio when this new medium came as a challenge to both. It challenged the American educational system first and as early as 1950-1951 the Federal Communications Commission had to allocate some ten per cent of television channel assignments in the United States of America to non-commercial, educational use. American universities and colleges were quick to realise the potentialities of the new medium and speedily tied up the television courses offered with their extension departments and adult education faculties. The first college credit course was televised in 1951. Others followed quickly and reports seem to indicate "that television can offer a sound way of expanding the teaching function of the institution and that the programme reached far beyond the actual registered students in the general viewing audience." (1) The new technique on the other side of the Atlantic has demanded a new type of tutor, the television personality.

While nothing so far developed in this country can com-

1. Scottish Adult Education: no.19: p.24.

pare with what has happened in America there is no doubt that an adult educator appears on the television screen of the British home. Men who have had little, if any, educational training now instruct the millions. Many are personalities in other walks of life who are brought in to be commentators, the programme authority taking the view that their names will encourage people to look and listen. Yet these programmes have great success. The adult audience learns again of the world of nature from men like Peter Scott or James Fisher. On the bus next morning the travellers comment on current affairs after Panorama or Press Conference the night before: they watch the programmes depicting social and political problems of our time and feel they are more competent to discuss them. They travel the world by sailing ship, explore the jungle on safari, or descend below the ocean with the aqua-lung divers. They have magazine programmes, touching on many subjects, like *Tonight* which, though entertainment, plays a part in the commentary on life today. Some programmes like the science series are at a higher level of understanding and are presented by university professors and experts. The head of Scottish Television once said to the writer that his television network could instruct more people in a few minutes than all the adult educational classes in a long period of time. It could

probably tell them but it could never give them the opportunity of the cut-and-thrust of discussion of a good adult education class. The audience can never talk back to the television screen. It is a one-way service just as radio is. The power of both can scarcely be questioned when it is remembered how the dictators of the 1930s used the radio to achieve their ends and Britain in wartime used it to create a united people with a single purpose. The excuse for the fall in numbers of classes and students in some areas of Scotland, (for example, West Lothian which receives an extremely clear television signal) has been given as the impact of television, but it is significant that adult classes in Edinburgh increase in number and enrolment and that the Public Libraries of the city report a greater than ever readership of serious literature, philosophy, religion, history and art. Television has made some subjects popular. For example, archaeology owes much of its revived interest to Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the entertainment programme Animal, Vegetable and Mineral, while books on geography and travel owe part of their increased popularity to other programmes.

Television is still new. It has the appeal of novelty but a novelty that is now becoming less novel. Individuals

appear now to be asserting themselves and choosing more and more the programmes at which they look. The adult probably recognises that his television set can provide him with much more information and knowledge than he could get easily before but he equally often finds it difficult to separate out fact from fiction in a programme. A dissatisfaction arises in the mind similar to that for which Matthew Arnold gave the earlier solution that by reading and learning it was possible to get "the power.... to estimate the proportion and relation in what we read." (1) Whether adult education can guide these reactions today is a challenge to adult education. It was recently stated that "the mass media are really doomed from the start, and they know it, because they are destructive of live relationships between human beings. Being one-way traffic they cater merely for self-indulgence." (2) That is strong speech that needs examination. It may be wishful thinking on the part of the author but it would seem to indicate that adult education is again due for a re-examination of its techniques and its appeals to the people. It may be that the people will turn from these media as educators simply because they ^{apparently} possess great authority. On

1. Matthew Arnold: Literature and Dogma.

2. David Holbrook in The Journal of Education: April 1956.

the other hand, there is no doubt that "if it is handled with imagination and judgment, broadcasting may become one of the most effective means of stimulating a desire to understand the nature and problems of the modern world." (1) Through radio and television the adult may be able to sit 'at the feet of the master' for a short period of time but the adult student will probably go on feeling that he needs systematic training in the subject of study and be frustrated that he cannot have a partnership in study with the master as he can with the tutor in the adult education class.

1. S.H.Bailey: International Studies in Modern Education; (Oxford University Press 1938) p.296.

XI: SOCIAL CHANGES DEMAND CHANGES OF TECHNIQUE:

This partnership is basic in the present day technique of adult education. Adult students are mature compared with undergraduates who may be prepared to accept the words and thoughts of the lecturer. They may be willing to accept the television screen as truth. Adult students, on the other hand, have lived lives full of experience and though their powers of expression may be less developed, they have ideas and opinions which have been derived from their experience and from facts discovered by themselves, however badly they may have been thought out or however biased they may have become. They prefer to meet face to face with the lecturer, but face to face in 1960 is different from face to face in the nineteenth or any earlier century. The world of 1960 has been shaken so often in the last decade or two by startling discoveries on land, in the sea and in space that nearly every statement or opinion expressed in scientific learning, philosophy, psychology and even theology is almost immediately qualified nowadays as being provisional or unconfirmed. Lord Haldane observed similar trends as long ago as 1910 when addressing the Theological Society at New College, Edinburgh. "Valuable as the cautious spirit is in getting rid of superstition.... it brings with it immensely

increased difficulties for the teacher and the preacher alike. They have not the power of moving their hearers that their forefathers had because they are not themselves convinced as their forefathers were.... " (1) The lecturer's problem of 1960 is, in this respect, vastly different from the lecturer's problem of 1860. His own values and the values of his audience have changed. A hundred years ago there was a pattern of society which could be comparatively easily defined and in which each member knew his own station and relationship to every other member. Public education has changed the position. Standards have been questioned and values doubted. "When mass literacy and mass communication arrive, men come under a barrage of information about unfamiliar ways of living and, almost inevitably it seems, the boundaries of good and evil become obscured and black and white merge into a continuous band of grays: the variety of possible - and reasonable - choices becomes bewildering." (2)

The adult has matured today as compared with a hundred or more years ago and the change in his pattern of life has called for more effort in response to his cultural environment. It has called for a change of mind, too, on the part

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1. Viscount Haldane: The Calling of a Preacher: 18th October 1910.
 2. Film and Television in Education for Teaching: (British Film Institute 1960) p.6.

of the lecturer. The ordinary man has increased in importance and the traditional higher strata of society count for much less. Citizenship means more today for it includes all the benefits that have been fought for by the preceding generations. Citizenship today must also imply the many more obligations on the ordinary citizen. "The nearer we approach to full democracy the more numerous and the more responsible will grow the common obligations of citizenship. The periodic withdrawal of the worker from the daily round and common task that he may examine thoughtfully and objectively the nature of the society in the governance of which he takes so active a part will become more and more a necessity if muddle and mismanagement are to be avoided." (1) Any adult scheme of education for today must provide the citizen with a chance to develop just that maturity of judgment and outlook and to assist him to work out his interests in life so that he will be enriched by the philosophy he accepts for himself.

Modern life has produced another problem for adult education of which the lecturer must also take note. A new factor has come into life during the last century.

1. H.C.Dent: A New Order in English Education: (University of London Press 1942) p.74.

Speed has narrowed distance both between places in this country and between this island and the rest of the world. Thought can no longer be considered as the thought of this country or that. What is thought in Africa or America or Asia has just as much chance of influencing life in these islands. Automation in factories has speeded up manufacture. There is a haste today to get everything quickly whether it be the product of the hands or the machine, money or even education. The number of men and women who are willing to undertake the discipline of study over a long period of time is now much smaller than it was if, for example, statistics of tutorial class students can be relied upon. The bookstalls of today are full of digests of one type or another. Advertisers offer by the hundred achievement courses in a few lessons. Books are produced in summary form in a few dozen pages. Our newspapers tend to give their news and information in headlines and the journalism of yesterday is dead. R.H.Tawney observed this when he regretted the tendency of the Workers' Educational Association to attract students "with unexacting options, instead of, as it should, putting them on their mettle, pitching its claim high and relying for a response to its demands, not on the insignificance of the effort which compliance with them requires but on the magnitude of the reward which effort

will bring." (1) It has not yet been proved that the serious student of today requires the same amount of time to assimilate the same amount of material. Perhaps he works faster. It could be argued that he comes to his study at a higher starting point resulting from the more advanced education available to him through school. Many university subjects a hundred or even fifty years ago were taught at a lower level than they are today. Standards are continually changing, perhaps not obviously in a few years but quite clearly over a quarter or half century. In addition, the serious adult student of 1960 has much more leisure for reading and private research than his fellow of 1910 or earlier, although he also has more to distract him in the entertainment world. Perhaps in this way he can afford to shorten the course aimed at the same end by using his leisure to supplement and advance the learning obtained at his lectures. The industrial society of today has increased the output per man many times and his standard of living has increased incredibly. Medical science has so advanced in the conquest of disease that man is more fit physically and hence more fit mentally. So at least the doctors tell us. Man must therefore be today in a better

1. Raybould: W.E.A. The Next Phase; (W.E.A. 1949) introduction p.viii.

state to study if he wishes to do so. The tiredness of the manual labourer of the past, ill-health through undernourishment caused by low standards of living are by and large things of the past. These were usually given as the excuses for the low standards and slowness of some of the students. New excuses, if any, must now be found. The lecturer must realise all these things. So must the makers of all mechanical and visual aids which are available to help him.

XII: THE STUDENTS AND THEIR NEEDS:

Still another social factor must be considered by the adult educationist. The philanthropist of the nineteenth century and the Mansbridges of the twentieth devised educational schemes for what were commonly called 'workers.' Workers were generally those who left full-time education not later but even earlier than the official school leaving age. They were mostly the more poorly paid members of society and over several decades the depressed. Members of the middle classes found their way into various professional bodies and societies for the services of which they had often to pay costly membership and subscription dues. Since the World Wars and especially the second the state of the workers has risen in every way. Their pay packets now often exceed the salaries of the former middle class. Many of the workers have risen above and turned their backs on the old working class of which they were active supporters. They have adopted the habits of life and living that they previously criticised. They seek for their children better opportunity than they had for themselves. They have taken their places in a changed environment.

This same change can be seen in the Workers' Educational Association movement. Its founders planned well for the education of the worker as the name of the movement implies. In the early days there were many artisans in the classes, although there has never been a period when the classes were exclusively for them. At the start of the movement in Edinburgh and Scotland the percentage of manual workers in the classes was quite high. This was because the first classes were largely sponsored by groups of manual workers. The first Edinburgh students came from Nelson's Printing Works at Parkside and from railway and other employees of the Gorgie area of the city. The records of the occupations of students of succeeding years are very scanty. Only broad analyses have been found and these classify the various occupations in very wide groups. In the winter session in Edinburgh thirty years ago, in 1930, only 71 enrolments out of 841, or just over 8%, were classed as industrial workers. By 1936, the only year for which a complete analysis of actual occupations has so far been discovered the percentage was 6.9%, being 55 students out of 800, and in 1959 the number of enrolment cards of manual workers had fallen to 4.8%, a mere 112 out of 2,315 individual students. (1)

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1. As the 1936 list is the only list known it is included at Appendix X along with the figures for the 1959-1960 session in the hope that they may be useful to research in the future.

Some 24% were classed as commercial workers in 1930, a figure which rose to 31% in 1936 but had fallen to 18.7% in 1959. Professional occupations in 1930 represented 33.5% of the total and they accounted for almost the same percentage, 33.9%, in 1959. There has been a noticeable decline in the domestic group of occupations. They have fallen by nearly half to only 5.6% in 1959. Civil servants numbered 8.1% in 1930 and the same percentage in 1959 although in 1936 the number had risen to 10.1%. There is now a lower percentage of teachers in the classes, the drop in numbers being from 18.9% in 1930 to 11.5% in 1936, around which figure the numbers remained. Housewives have always given loyal support to adult education classes. In 1930 they numbered 10.7% of the enrolment, in 1936 some 12.3%, but in 1959 the number had increased to 21.2%. There has been little change in the relative numbers of men and women attending classes. In 1936 men accounted for 35.1% of the total enrolment and women 64.9%. In 1959 they were 33.7% and 66.3% respectively. (For detailed figures see Appendices IX and X.)

The figures are not entirely comparable for a number of the civil servants were no doubt employed in industrial departments and a number of other students have given new

names for their ordinary jobs. For example, a known plumber registered as a sanitary engineer and a housepainter as an interior decorator. Many clerkesses class themselves as secretaries and the word consultant appears more frequently than in the past. The meaning of the word 'engineer' has changed in the last twenty or thirty years. It is difficult now to distinguish between the fitter who calls himself an engineer and the engineer who holds all the appropriate professional qualifications of his calling. The terms 'housewife' and 'household duties' are also extremely ambiguous and a truer position might be obtained if it were known what these ladies did for a living before their marriage. Many of the 'housewife' class may also be in some form of employment. The industrial worker of today has, however, in general, little interest in attending these classes and probably in anything to which the word 'education' is attached. He has never had a taste for books or learning. The very fact that so many of those for whom the Workers' Educational Association was created have turned their backs on the organisation is in itself probably one of the biggest criticisms of the movement. Here perhaps is evidence, if such is needed, that although the Workers' Educational Association set out to be a kind of university for the working man (1) by no means

1. cf. Mansbridge, Tawney, etc.

every working man had any interest. It is the change of social conditions and life since the beginning of this century which has probably brought about this change of attitude of what Mansbridge called "labouring men and women." "It is significant that already there is an antique ring about that phrase and yet, according to Dr Mansbridge, the founder of the Association, if the percentage of students who could be so described had fallen below 75 the organisation would have been regarded as superfluous.... " (1) It continues, but with a changed clientele. It is superfluous already by the Mansbridge formula. At its conferences motions continue to be proposed to change the name of the Association by dropping the word 'Workers'. Support for this change is growing as the voting at successive conferences shows. (2) If a balance sheet were prepared of adult education under the name of Workers' Educational Association in the south-east of Scotland today the loss in the numbers of students from the labouring classes would be offset by the profits, the enormous increase of the middle and even upper class workers, for all are workers as Lord Cockburn pointed out in his Journal. "Lord Dunfermline was in the chair and, as usual,

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1. Further Education Magazine; vol.iii; no.2; p.137.
 2. e.g. W.E.A. Conference at Brighton; March 1960.

made a sensible speech to about 1500 of what are termed the working classes, as if the only workers were those who wrought with their hands." (1) The difficulties of recruitment to adult education classes have been constantly before the organisers of them. To provide a class suited to the needs of potential students has often been difficult. In 1914 the report of the Edinburgh branch of the Workers' Educational Association records, "A large proportion of the students were scarcely of the type for which the classes are primarily designed." (2) The amount of the fee charged for classes has also had an effect on enrolment. In 1960 the fee for a course of ten lectures is generally ten shillings, and one pound for a twenty weeks' class. In other words adult education is provided in the mid twentieth century for one shilling a lecture. The balance of the cost is met through the local Educational Trusts and/or the local Education Authorities from national and local grants. When adult education became mandatory by the 1945/46 Education (Scotland) Acts the subsequent regulations made adult education qualify for 75% grant from the Education (Scotland) Fund. This provision enabled many classes to be held which were free or

1. Lord Cockburn: Journal: vol.ii: p.83.
 2. Edinburgh W.E.A.Minutes: Report 1913-1914.

nearly free from being a burden on the local rates of the community. Under the present block grant scheme, however, the education authority has to budget for its adult education out of the total sum available. Over the past quarter century the fees for classes have been increased from time to time to their present figure. On each occasion of an increase in fees there has been a slight recession in the work done but, within a year or two, the gap has generally been bridged and the enrolments have been higher than before the increase. That has not been so noticeable in industrial and mining areas where classes were held when adult education was free or obtainable for a nominal fee. No classes now meet in some of these areas, especially the large areas round Dalkeith and Bathgate and similar towns. Adult education is now considered too dear at a shilling a lecture. It would appear, however, that something more than the mere money is the cause of the non-attendance. The people are the same kind of people who hastened to join classes at the time of the Industrial Revolution.

It is all the more surprising when consideration is taken of the wages paid to such workers today compared with those paid a century or more ago. When the School of Arts

was founded in 1821 one quarter of the students were workers in wood, carpenters or joiners, while another large section were masons. Examination of the wages earned by the students about that time shows that a carpenter earned just about a guinea per week and a mason just under £1. (1) Out of this he had to find his fee of 15s. for his course to enable him to attend a single hour on two evenings per week. Wages rose in 1824 to 28s. for masons and 24s. for carpenters but by 1826 the wages of the mason had fallen to 14s. and of the carpenter to 14s.6d. and the School responded by lowering its fee to 7s.6d. The difference in wages was almost as much as a sessional fee. In succeeding years the wages crept up to £1 by 1840, about 27s. by 1870, and at the turn of the century just on £2. Today the corresponding standard wage of masons and carpenters is 4s.11¹/₂d per hour or £10:18s.2d. per week, although much more can often be earned in overtime and by additional allowances. The number of hours worked in 1960 were 44 per week compared with 50 to 60 in 1821. The amount of leisure time 'to be filled in' in 1960 is so much greater that it would appear that adult education might have a reasonable share of it. By the reckoning of

1. Bowley, Arthur L.: Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century: (Cambridge University Press 1900) p.89.

1821 when the fee for a class was 15s. out of a wage packet of approximately £1, or about 75% of one week's wages, the cost of adult education in 1960 should be approximately £8 per session. It is questioned if a single adult education class would be possible at such a fee. Today's fee for a twenty lecture course can be earned in under five hours. In 1821 the same fee required about 45 hours' labour, more than the modern standard week. These figures, of course, have not taken any account of differences in the standards of living or costs of goods in the two periods but have merely considered wages against adult education fees.

New ideas have crept into the life of the worker. He has been accustomed to free day school education since the last quarter of last century - for some ninety years. He has become accustomed to having more and more provided for him by the state or his employer. He can obtain large maintenance grants or bursaries for his children to keep them at school or university: he has all the benefits of the present welfare state, in pensions, social security, family allowances, unemployment benefit, injury and other insurances. He has been conditioned over the years to expect certain facilities as his right rather than his privilege as his predecessors of a hundred years ago had done. Among these

rights he probably classes adult education if he thinks of it at all. Education, itself, does not seem to be something valued as much as it was when it could not be readily obtained. Familiarity has been said to breed contempt. When adult education was expensive it was sought after: when it was easily obtained only by the few the many sought after it: now that it is cheap or, in the case of much trade union education, free, it is avoided or even, it might appear, shunned. The many now seek after other things that might be the privilege of the few. There is a change of outlook.

The problem for the adult educationist is to foresee the changes in the social life at the earliest possible moment and to cater for them. There is always a time lag, resulting in adult education probably providing what was really required a little before the actual provision. The education really required by any society "is determined by the dominant social forces at work in that society." (1) Hence there is a need for consultation about suitable and likely classes in different areas. The directors of the Edinburgh School of Arts refused to allow discussion with the students about the subjects and courses of study. The

1. A.K.Cottaway: Education and Society: (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1953) p.58.

Workers' Educational Association has always had a liaison between potential students and the lecturers. The adult education councils created by the Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Committee in many towns and villages aim at the same consultation. Flexibility is essential. Professor Lester Smith once wrote, "Teachers today cannot succeed unless they are able to adjust, adapt and rethink their methods to meet the changing demands of a changing world." (1) That is specially true of adult teaching. There are more people educated today as a result of the vast increase in the facilities for secondary education and the greatly increased production of magazines, periodicals and printed books. Not all have benefited equally and many have forgotten their book-learning. The army discovered a large number of illiterates among its recruits but even they were generally illiterate only in their inability to read. The printed word has become for some less and less a necessity. Films, television, pictures in the press and bold headlines are the order of the day and require little reading ability. Even the various knobs on motor cars or other pieces of machinery have symbols instead of words to indicate their purposes.

1. Lester Smith: *Education and Society*: (Routledge and Kegan Paul 1953) introduction p.x.

Reading was essential for any progress at the time our educational systems were established. They were literary educations. Today it is probable that we ought to be teaching children and adults just as intensively how to see or look as how to read. Our educational system is probably behind in this. It is true, of course, that the printed word will remain the essential means of higher learning for many years to come, perhaps for ever, and the principal means by which a student can study on his own account when he likes and what he likes. That a change is coming even in research has been noted in recent years. Not a few theses and contributions to research in some countries have been accompanied by or consisted mainly of sound or silent films. Perhaps here too is a warning that new educational methods are required in adult education.

The rise of new towns and the enormous sprawling extensions of our older cities created demands for the establishment of community centres. In the olden days the community centre of the village or neighbourhood was the church and later, in England at least, the 'local' pub or inn. There was no comparable institution to the latter in Scotland. By the late 1940s a new feature of the neighbourhood unit

was the community centre building which, it was hoped, might become the meeting-place of all the activities of the community. "The first requirement in the way of facilities would appear to be meeting places suitable for social, recreational and informal educational activities." (1) It was hoped, at the same time, that the centre might become the locus of educational work in liberal and recreational studies. It was realised in Edinburgh that until "a proper centre is provided for adult classes it is difficult to see how the position can be improved." (2) By 1949-1950 there were twenty-two community associations in Edinburgh alone. Some community associations selected educational committees and a variety of classes and circles were formed. Such a community centre at Be'ness has conducted many classes in varied subjects including liberal studies. One of its classes, under the guidance of a university lecturer, undertook a project concerning the development of the life of the community, in its different social, educational, industrial and recreational aspects. Many centres, however, prefer to carry on without any specific committee dealing with education. "They feel that the label of education may itself

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1. Scottish Education Department: Circular no.56: Feb.1946.
 2. Edinburgh Corporation Education Committee: Organiser's Report on Further Education: 1948-1949.

restrict the influence of the committee and that so important a matter is best left to the general management committee." (1) The result is that, as a rule, educational matters are lost in the wilderness of what is classed as apparently more urgent business. The success of adult education, at any level whatever in the community centre, depends to a great extent on the attitude and inspiration of the leader and his committee who can control the activities held under its roof.

What was written concerning women in the army could be quoted equally appropriately for the bulk of the people who might be expected to use community centres but do not. It is a commentary on the social life of the nation. "It is a melancholy reflection on the educational failures of the last twenty-five years that many young people refuse to use their minds at all outside working hours and their only cry is for amusement without any demands made on their initiative, industry or intelligence." (2) How to win these masses is still one of the unsolved problems of the educationist in general and of the adult educationist in particular.

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1. Community Association Booklet: no.3: 1949: p.6.
 2. Amenities and Welfare Conditions in the Three Women's Services: (H.M.S.O. 1942).

The comparative failure of liberal studies in community centres and also perhaps in other places, especially in small country villages where only small groups can be brought together, may perhaps be ascribed to a common error in technique on the part of the tutor. Often too much is attempted in the time available, especially where the class has no particular homogeneity. Students are often expected to learn more rapidly than it is possible for them to do. Sufficient consideration is sometimes not given to the fact that these volunteers have come after they have completed their day's work. Their keenness is without question but their speed of assimilation, especially of facts, might be slower than that of the undergraduate whose prime interest in attending a class is to accumulate enough knowledge to pass some examination. The undergraduate will also often accept the generalisation while the adult requires illustration and example to satisfy his more advanced experience. The adult student, too, is quick to realise it when the tutor adopts the air of superiority, condescension or authority. The adult expects to extract from the tutor information of one kind or another to increase his own knowledge but he does not expect the tutor to be the autocrat of the school classroom. It is vital to the technique of adult education today that "the teacher should shift from

the attitude of master to that of friend." (1) It is one of the changes that have taken place with the change of society and the development of democracy. It was what happened in the best of tutorial courses where the class formed itself into a seminar to discuss a problem to the solution of which the leader gradually guided the discussion.

These developments have taken place despite problems of accommodation and seating. Too often conditions are unsuitable for adults. What the organiser for further education in Edinburgh wrote in 1947 could have been equally said of any part of the area. "Suitable accommodation and seating present difficulties: it is interesting to note that in one school there was keen competition for the use of an attractively furnished common room. There is no doubt that the gloomy atmosphere of many of the classrooms, partly due to bad lighting, tends to keep students away and until bright and comfortably furnished rooms are provided for adult students the response will be limited." (2) In Edinburgh city most of the work of adult education has been done in the classrooms of the University itself but

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1. E.L.Thorndike: Adult Interests: (Macmillan N.Y. 1935) p.152.
 2. Edinburgh Corporation Education Committee: Organiser's Report on Further Education: 1947-1948.

in the counties the school is often the only place. In Galashiels, Old Gala House has been developed as an attractive adult centre. At Peebles the adult classes have met in the Library while classes have met in halls and even in a coffee-house at Bo'ness. At Haddington the classes meet in the Council Chamber while at South Queensferry the locus of the class used to be the Burgh Courtroom, to heat which members of the class brought packages of coal. In this way classes have had a less formal air about them.

If adult education was merely a device to fill in the gaps in an early scholastic education, as it was conceived by many of the great pioneers, it would be worthwhile, but it has a higher value. There is a spiritual significance about it. There is a spiritual need which was realised by the American who wrote about his countrymen, "Tens of millions of adults feel dissatisfaction, vague or sharp, with the ways they are using the irreversible hours and days which fly inexorably by. They yearn for immortality, yet do not know how to spend wisely the gift of an empty hour on a rainy Sunday afternoon." (1) It was the same

1. R.J.Blakely: in Adult Education: Spring 1953.

realisation that made Lord Say reply to Jack Cade, the rebel, who accused him of providing education and the printed word,

"..... ignorance is the curse of God
Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven." (1)

The technique of adult education is to satisfy a higher need than the purely utilitarian. Scientific adult education has not yet established itself as a continuing form except in the case of purely vocational classes (where it often ceases as soon as the appropriate certificate has been obtained.) The Mechanics' Institutions failed to maintain their scientific curricula and branched into more liberal fields: University Extension soon developed a similar course: even today when so much emphasis is laid by government and industry on the needs of a new scientific age, classes in scientific subjects are few and small in number of enrolments compared with those in non-scientific subjects.

Adult education must concern itself with the whole of man and it must concern itself with a standard of excellence far beyond what has been achieved so far. It must provide for the needs of the soul as well as the needs of the body.

1. Shakespeare: King Henry VI: part II: act iv: scene 7.

It must cater for the whole modern community. Great sums of money have been spent on the technical, scientific, cultural and liberal education of the people. Adult education must make provision for the days to come and prepare its students to take their places in the world of twenty, thirty or more years on. It must regenerate society. It must spread culture. It must supply the power for thought. It must realise that the old Greek trimeter will be equally true for this generation and for the generations to come: "Those who have applied themselves to learning have a double advantage in life." (1)

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**ADULT EDUCATION IN
SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND**

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX IList of MECHANICS' INSTITUTIONS and LITERARY INSTITUTIONS
in SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND

This list is compiled from Hudson: "History of Adult Education" 1851 and Kelly: "George Birkbeck" 1957 to show the extent of the movement in the area. In many cases the Institution was little more than a reading room and library.

A. Listed from Hudson: pp.235ff. (The detail refers to 1851)

Place	Title	Members	Library volumes	Library issues	Students enrolled
Dalkeith	Scientific Assoc.	70	130	400	-
Duns	Mechanics' Inst.	80	-	-	-
Edinburgh	School of Arts	700	2000	3500	650
	Philosophical Inst.	2035	5050	39800	-
	Antiquarian Soc.	200	-	-	-
	Geological Soc.	50	-	-	-
	Wernerian Soc.	120	-	-	-
Hawick	Lit. & Scient. Inst.	67	-	-	-
Jedburgh	Mechanics' Inst.	150	1000	5000	-
Kelso	Antiquarian Soc.	100	-	-	-

B. Listed by Kelly: pp.326ff.

Place	Title	Known Dates of Existence
Dunbar	Mechanics' Inst.	1825-1841
Haddington	School of Arts	1823-1853
North Berwick	Mechanics' Inst.	1825-1828
Tranent	Mechanics' Inst.	1825- ?
Dalkeith	Mechanics' Inst.	1825- ?
Edinburgh	School of Arts	1821-1877-
	Mechanics' Inst.	1848-1851
Leith	Mechanics' Inst.	1828-1877
Musselburgh	Mechanics' Inst.	1825- ?
Duns	Mechanics' Inst.	1840-1866
Peebles	Mechanics' Inst.	1832- ?
	Lit. & Scient. Inst.	1851- ?
Hawick	School of Arts	1824-1839
	Lit. & Scient. Inst.	1851- ?
Kelso	School of Arts	1825-1828
	Lit. & Polytechnic Inst.	1849-1900 ?
Jedburgh	Mechanics' Inst.	1851- ?
Galashiels	Mechanics' Inst.	1837-1873
Linlithgow	Mechanics' Inst.	1851- ?

APPENDIX IIAttendance at Classes for Adults in Adult Institutes and W.E.A. Classes in Edinburgh.

NOTES: a. Figures marked 'a' include a few students under 18 years of age. Separate figures for such students are not available for these years.

b. W.E.A. classes in 1912-13 were not under the Edinburgh School Board. W.E.A. classes were also held in Leith under Leith School Board in 1913-14-15.

Year	Winter Session						Summer Session		
	Toll-cross A.I.	Warr-ender Park A.I.	Darr-och (Gil- more Pl.) A.I.	Brou-ghton A.I.	EWEA	WEA	Darr-och A.I.	EWEA	WEA
1911-12		129	258	244					
1912-13		162	908	418		b160	a863		
1913-14	272		814	378		133	a573		
1914-15	225		666	249		102	a389		
1915-16	103		455	125		136	a412		
1916-17			595	178		102	a320		
1917-18			630	315		195	a351		
1918-19			687	355		263	a344		108
1919-20			a1032	417		846	a418		41
1920-21			a1372	424		1508	a556		245
1921-22			a1036	249		1818	a759		194
1922-23			a 996	173		1509	a633		298
1923-24			a 936	223		1287	a590		386
1924-25			a 980	237		864	a590		338
1925-26			a1160	310		847	a621		246
1926-27			a 969	278	588		a838		219
1927-28			1074	322	702		a675	179	
1928-29			1100	390	755		a534	232	
1929-30			1340	386	795		a540	259	
1930-31			1481	487	841		a715	330	
1931-32			1403	424	815		a735	362	
1932-33			1214	469	813		444	267	
1933-34			1011	392	626		516	245	
1934-35			837	359	583		361	240	

Appendix II (Continued)

Year	Winter Session				Summer Session		
	Darroch (Gilmore Pl.) A.I.	Broughton A.I.	E.W.E.A.	W.E.A.	Darroch A.I.	E.W.E.A.	W.E.A.
1935-36	886	375	696		464	362	
1936-37	925	382	800		451	408	
1937-38	921	304	869		427	425	
1938-39	787	307	796		434	460	
1939-40	318	133	353		206	386	
1940-41	a264	a458	403		157	235	
1941-42	a253	a638	647		112	301	
1942-43	a342	a611	705	65	228	302	
1943-44	a391	a594	745	40	192	448	
1944-45	a417	a558	934	82	220	501	
1945-46	a432	a845	1043	115	187	569	
1946-47	a696	a620	936	131	253	505	40
1947-48	a883	a527	1071	125	387	465	105
1948-49	a993	a755	856	269	449	390	119
1949-50	a1237	a794	980	139	622	371	80
1950-51	a1307	a827	1022	251	688	403	150
1951-52	1370	513	1167	233	626	501	133
1952-53	911	556	1132	222	394	377	162
1953-54	1075		1247	222	400	490	158
1954-55	887		1524	196	337	603	139
1955-56	1001		1802	185	410	761	244
1956-57	786		1588	391	278	758	247
1957-58	773		1809	518	292	877	193
1958-59	708		2142	486			

APPENDIX III

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED
CLASSES IN H.M.PRISON

- A. Prior to 1938 this was a voluntary service performed by the Edinburgh Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association. (see pp.230-231)
- B. After 1938 this service was performed by Edinburgh Corporation Education Committee.

Year	Winter Terms	Summer Term
1938-39	87	59
1945-46	58	51
1946-47	53	30
1947-48	182	149
1948-49	152	113
1949-50	147	114
1950-51	136	126
1951-52	127	58
1952-53	142	92
1953-54	85	62
1954-55	74	61
1955-56	69	40
1956-57	22	22
1957-58	36	44

- C. In addition several single lectures on unrelated subjects were given by University lecturers in an endeavour to rouse interest in new subjects among the prisoners. These lectures began in 1956 but attendance records have not been kept.

APPENDIX IVTHE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION IN EDINBURGHBeginnings:

The Workers' Educational Association had flourished and expanded under Albert Mansbridge for six years before it crossed the Scottish border. Mary Stocks, historian of the W.E.A. movement, reports that somewhere about 1910 Mansbridge visited Glasgow "to preach the gospel of adult education" (1) there. The meeting actually took place in St Andrew's Hall on 16th October 1909 when Sir Donald MacAlister, Principal of Glasgow University, presided over a delegate meeting of some 364 people. Among the speakers were F.W.Jowett, M.P. and R.H.Tawney. (2) Although an appreciative hearing was given there was by no means unanimous support and although a large representative provisional committee was elected the visit was abortive as the organisation did not exist by the following year.

W.E.A. was not established in Scotland for almost another three years. A meeting was convened in the Free

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1. Mary Stocks: W.E.A. First 50 Years: (Allen and Unwin 1953)
 2. The Glasgow Herald: 18th October 1909: see also Scottish Adult Education: no.8: p.10.

Gardeners' Hall, in Picardy Place, Edinburgh, on Saturday afternoon, 26th October 1912, to consider the formation of a local branch. The Scotsman reported that about 200 persons were present (1) including representatives from both Edinburgh and Leith Trades Councils, the School Boards of Edinburgh and Leith, several University professors, lecturers and assistants, and a number of others interested in education. It is noted that the university members were present in an unofficial capacity. Messages "of encouragement were acknowledged" from the students of Ruskin College and from the Birmingham branch of the W.E.A. (2) Professor Lodge (afterwards Sir Richard Lodge) presided and asked Mr Mansbridge to address the meeting as general secretary of the W.E.A.

Mr Mansbridge gave a summary of the work of the movement and showed how the universities and university colleges of England and Wales had cooperated for the education of the working men and women. He stressed his ambition that the association should be non-party, unsectarian and democratic. To emphasise this aspect he stated that "a course of lectures, attended by a thousand working men and women, had been given

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1. The Scotsman: 28th October 1912. The Minute Book states about 170.
 2. W.E.A. Edinburgh Minutes: 26th October 1912.

in the House of Lords when the Rt.Hon.A.J.Balfour, Viscount Haldane, Mr Ramsay Macdonald and the Speaker were amongst the chairmen." (1) Nearly two thousand organisations had affiliated to the movement and he claimed "the association was the largest educational body in the country." (1) The movement had spread to help working men and women in the cities and in the country districts with their educational needs. Tutorial classes of three years' duration had been formed in collaboration with the universities and had so far been attended by some three thousand working men and women. "A good proportion of the work done in these classes had been declared to be equal to that required by men gaining a first class in a final honours school at Oxford." (1)

On the motion of Councillor J.A.Young of the Edinburgh School Board, seconded by Professor James Seth of the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University, it was unanimously resolved that "this meeting of delegates from working class and educational organisations in Edinburgh and Leith, realising the need for the higher education of the workers, and having heard an explanation of the aims and methods of the Workers' Educational Association agrees to institute a

1. The Scotsman: 28th October 1912.

branch of the association in this district and to appoint a provisional committee." (1)

Other speakers spoke in support of the formation of the branch. Among them was Dr Bernard Bosanquet, the University Gifford Lecturer at the time, and a former lecturer under the University Extension scheme, who said he had experienced the movement in England and it filled him with hope for the future for it was doing what education had been seeking to do for over thirty years. The chairman, Professor Lodge, gave it as his view that he "thought it would help the Scottish universities as it had helped the English universities to understand the needs of the people." (2)

The committee appointed was a comprehensive one. It included the Presidents of both the Edinburgh and Leith Trades Councils, Messrs James Campbell and Thomas Melrose, four representatives of the Edinburgh School Board, Councillors G.W.Crawford and J.A.Young, Mrs Leslie Mackenzie and Mr W.A. Buckner, two representatives of Leith School Board, Miss A.N.Macnab and Mr W.Sharp, three University professors, Lodge, Seth and Darroch, The Rev.J.Harry Miller of the Pleasance Kirk, The Rev.R.V.Holt of the Unitarian Church,

1. *ibid*: cf Minutes 26th October 1912.

2. *ibid*.

Miss Mary Tweedie who in 1960 alone of this early committee is still a member of the local council, Messrs N.J.Cockburn, Sterling Craig, T.M'Cracken, C.Mitchell, A.P.Ogilvie, J.S. Ramsay, R.Wilson, T.Wilson, and Miss Christie with Mr J. Ewing as Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Secretary respectively.

The committee lost no time in getting to business. They divided into four sub-committees appointed to consider affiliation and coordination, to secure individual members and subscriptions, to arrange the formation of classes, and for the provision of books. Professor Darroch was the chairman of the first of these committees. Letters were immediately written to the University asking for its cooperation, to the Scotch Education Department asking on what terms it would be willing and able to make grants for W.E.A. classes in Edinburgh, to the trade unions and other bodies requesting them to affiliate and explaining to them the scope and object of the proposed classes. (1)

The second committee, over which Professor Seth presided, made efforts to enlist the support of as many official bodies in Edinburgh and Leith as possible. Letters were dispatched to the members of both town councils, to the school

boards of both towns, to the Heriot Trust and the Merchant Company, to the local Members of Parliament, to the employers of labour on the Advisory Council of the School Board of Edinburgh and to a selected list of large employers of labour in Edinburgh and District.

Professor Lodge himself presided over the third committee which discussed possible classes. It was decided to have four classes without delay and to offer general British history as the subject of study. From this it was hoped to start a three year tutorial class in the following session to last from 1913 to 1916. From the beginning it was agreed that "It would be better to have mixed classes" (1) and that classes should not be held meantime on Sundays. The first students expected were to come from a group of Post Office employees, from the workers of Nelson's Printing Works at Parkside and from the railway and other employees of the Merchiston and Gorgie areas. The fourth class was projected at Currie. The suggested tutorial class did not materialise possibly because of the outbreak of the first World War in 1914.

The fourth committee whose task was to provide sufficient

1. Minutes: 14th November 1912.

textbooks and reference books for students taking the classes had a difficult task before them, as have had most organisations interested in the organisation of serious education. The committee agreed to ask the public library to stock additional copies of standard works on the subjects dealt with in the W.E.A. classes and "to house them in the reference departments of branch libraries where it was thought they would be most accessible to the W.E.A. students." (1) They also considered asking the Working Men's Club and Institute if they could provide W.E.A. students with any facilities and they proposed to invite the chief publishing firms in Edinburgh to make donations of books. They thought that an approach might also be made to the Heriot Trust. A proposal which encountered some difficulty was also made "not only to buy books but to institute a book fund from the ordinary revenue of the Association." (1)

From these references it will be seen that the small W.E.A. organisation in Edinburgh was endowed with big ideas and got down to work in earnest. They were to come up against many difficulties and not a few set-backs before they were much older. The flourish of trumpets at the start was to

1. Minutes of sub-committee: 14th November 1912.

die away and had the pioneers not been made of sterner stuff they too might quite well have slipped out and the organisation died.

Collaboration with School Boards:

At the outset the W.E.A. in Scotland, for that was what the small branch was in effect, found that the Scotch Education Department could not give them direct grants to carry on classes as was possible in England under the Board of Education. Money for classes such as these in Scotland had to come from the local school boards. Accordingly we find a discussion at a meeting of the Day Schools Committee of the Edinburgh School Board on 12th July 1913 which ended with the recommendation that the Board carry on the classes of the W.E.A. as part of the Board's system of continuation classes. It was explained that there would be associated with the Board an advisory committee consisting of seven members of the local W.E.A. committee and two representatives of the University whose duty it would be to offer suggestions as to suitable classes and teachers. The W.E.A. would endeavour to promote classes for adults in such subjects as history, economics, science, literature and philosophy. Teachers were to be paid at the rate of £16 for a course of 24 class meetings of two hours each. The Board

was assured that the teachers would be as far as possible persons engaged in teaching in a university, students or graduates of honours standing, or persons holding qualifications of equal standing in the particular subject. Each class was to consist of not fewer than sixteen students and not more than thirty, and would meet once a week.

When reading this nearly fifty years later it can only be noted that the conditions and regulations laid down at that early meeting have weathered two world wars and several economic crises. They are virtually the same as those in force in 1960 except that the salary has changed and classes now meet for twenty instead of twenty-four weeks. The minimum number on the roll is slightly higher for a lecture class but has been reduced to fifteen for a practical class. There is, however, now no upper limit to the number of students and, as the records show, never seems to have been in practice. Leith School Board had approved similar regulations a month earlier. (1)

By the time the first annual meeting was held on 25th October 1913 the committees could report that their work was progressing. Four classes in British History had been held

1. Minutes: 9th June 1913.

with an aggregate enrolment of over 160. The first tutors had been Mr J.Ewing (two classes), Miss Mary Williamson and Miss Margaret Adams. The School Boards of Edinburgh and Leith had accepted responsibility for future classes and the University had granted the use of a classroom. Much work had still to be done and recommendations were made to gain the support of labour and trades organisations and to consider the possibility of holding public propaganda meetings. (1) The Honorary Treasurer showed a balance for her first year of £2:15s.11d. out of her income of £20:9s.-d. and stressed how disappointed she was that in the subscription list only eight labour organisations were so far affiliated. When questioned about her postage bill of £7:13s.9d. she explained that this was heavy because of the "extensive propaganda work." That the branch was able to accomplish so much in so short a time on such a shoestring budget speaks volumes for the leadership and enthusiasm of the pioneers.

One suggestion at this annual general meeting presented the branch with a problem of administration over the next year or so until the war put an end to its further consideration. A speaker urged the association to provide cheap

1. Minutes: A.G.M. 25th October 1913.

correspondence tuition in the usual subjects. It was one of those suggestions which appeared natural and logical but it gave much concern to the committee which had if possible to implement it. Ways and means of carrying out the decision were discussed at length but before positive action was taken it was decided to write to such bodies as the National Union of Railwaymen at Kirknewton, the Midlothian miners, the West Lothian shale miners and the Cooperative Societies of the surrounding districts to ascertain their interest and the likelihood of their members taking part. No further decision had, however, to be taken for the country was faced with hostilities and by the end of the war the idea was forgotten.

The first classes held jointly with the School Boards were six in number and got off to a good start. The public press was complimentary and helpful (as it has been throughout the fifty years.) The Edinburgh Evening News carried a long mention about the movement (1) explaining how the W.E.A. at that time was a federation consisting of no fewer than 2,164 organisations of which 781 were trade unions, trades councils and branches, 326 cooperative societies and

1. Edinburgh Evening News: 5th September 1913.

committees, 20 university bodies and 15 local education authorities. 163 working men's clubs and institutes, 61 teachers' associations and 80 educational and literary societies were also included. The School Boards of Edinburgh and Leith were complimented on undertaking the financial responsibility for the classes held within the area.

The W.E.A. had come to Edinburgh at a period when the social life was undergoing change. There was a stirring among the young men and women for leadership and control of affairs. The old political theories were being questioned. There was "a disposition among numbers of young men to assume that outside of socialism there was no hope of progress." (1) The W.E.A. came into this atmosphere to conduct its classes. They must be free from political propaganda but, at the same time, the organisers had a mission, the making of ideal citizens. The critic of the W.E.A. in the press saw difficulty in this direction for the teacher which could only be solved by his personality, and a difficulty for the organisation where a large number of different authorities and societies shared directly or indirectly in the management. Both these were probably happily solved in Edinburgh by the

1. Edinburgh Evening News: leader: 5th September 1913.

fact that the School Board had the final say in the number of classes and the appointment of tutors.

The press applauded the University. "The share Edinburgh University has taken in this movement is highly to its honour and it opens up the prospect that some day we shall have in Edinburgh a real 'People's University!'" (1) The University had agreed to house the classes and a writer in the press expressed his views. "The great tradition of the university classrooms should suffer nothing from the work done in them under the auspices of the W.E.A. It is to be hoped that the classes will attract so many students as to encourage the university to open not only its doors but its degrees to students who can only attend in the evening under the handicap of having already performed a good day's work." (2) The wishful thinking, however, of the winter of 1913 has not as yet been realised. Nor was all to be smooth in the relationship of the University and the local branch of the W.E.A. The new session's classes had only just opened in the University when they had to be transferred elsewhere. The Continuation Classes Committee of the Edinburgh School Board discovered after the classes had been in session for

1. *ibid*: leader: 5th September 1913.

2. *ibid*: letter: 5th September 1913.

five weeks that the charge to the Board by the University for the use of a room was in their opinion excessive. (1) The Rev. William Main, the convener, in reply to a question by Mrs Leslie Mackenzie, is reported as having said that, "the University had not shown the slightest sympathy with the work of this association but rather the opposite." (1) He expressed the view that the prohibitive price for the use of the room simply meant that the School Board could not continue to use rooms in the University. The expenses were stated to be £4:6s.-d. per week which approximated to £100 for the whole session of 24 weeks. Professor Richard Lodge who interviewed the clerk of the University Court was given the explanation that, as the heating of the University was done on the block system, it would require as much "to heat one room in any portion of the building as to heat the whole suite of rooms." (1) The classes were therefore transferred to a room in the Church of Scotland Training College for Teachers building in Chambers Street at a charge of five shillings per meeting or £1 per week.

When the venue of the classes for the following year came up for discussion a plea was again made for the use of

1. Minutes: cf. The Scotsman: 1st December 1913 and The Evening Dispatch: 10th December 1913.

university classrooms. The editorial column of the Edinburgh Evening News took up the question. "The proposal that the Board should again approach the University for the use of rooms in the University for carrying on the W.E.A. classes cannot be commended. It sounds well to be able to drag in the University in connection with men's studies but the privilege is not going cheap as the Board have already found out. Young demos is on safer ground at the Heriot-Watt College which can provide all the accommodation and tuition that are required." (1) Despite the newspaper's strictures the W.E.A. classes for October 1914 were organised in the Old College, "the difficulties experienced last session having been overcome." (2) By 1917 through the influence of Sir Alfred Ewing, Principal and Vice-Chancellor, it was established that the University would provide free accommodation for the W.E.A. classes. Apart from short periods during war-time when classes could not meet in the University because of lack of suitable black-out in the classrooms or other war-time restrictions the University has continuously favoured the movement with extensive use of rooms of all kinds in all parts of their buildings free of charge. In

1. Edinburgh Evening News: 16th May 1914.

2. The Glasgow Herald: 15th September 1914.

addition the W.E.A. has had help from members of the staff as honorary organisers of the classes.

The second World War, however, was the cause of another complaint from the association. Members of the classes in the Old College found the rooms cold especially in the middle of winter. Deputation after deputation sought the assistance of the authorities who gave help as far as possible but restricted fuel supplies prevented the standard expected being maintained. The organiser in 1943 reported that the heating of the classrooms "had proved adequate in spite of anticipated fuel difficulties." (1) Complaints were still, however, being made in 1945, 1946 and 1947 when strenuous efforts were made to persuade the local fuel overseer to grant permits for additional coal. It was not really till session 1949 that no complaints appear in the minutes. "The classrooms were well heated for the first time since 1940." (2)

First World War:

The collaboration of the University with the association from the start accounts in large measure for its continuance throughout the years. Where students have a choice of a venue for a class it has been noticed that many will opt to

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1. Minutes: 25th March 1943.
 2. Minutes: 20th March 1950.

hold the class in the University even when there might have been more comfort elsewhere. There has been a prestige value in holding the classes in the Old College and other rooms of the University, however hard the benches might be. It was probably this location of classes that helped the association, still an infant, to grow up during the first World War. Other classes were, of course, held elsewhere. For example in 1913-14 classes were conducted in the Parkside Institute through the courtesy of Messrs Thomas Nelson and Sons, publishers, and in Leith in Duke Street School. The same session saw an ambitious programme of public lectures organised for the opening of the next session. The Rev. William Temple (to become Archbishop Temple), Mr Mansbridge and various others were expected in the city to address propaganda meetings but, at the meeting of the local council on 1st September 1914, within a month of the outbreak of hostilities, it was "agreed to postpone the opening lectures till more propitious times." (1) The opening of classes was also postponed but, by November, six out of seven projected classes were under way, in history, economics, philosophy, literature and governmental subjects.

The press reported that it had "been sought to make these

1. Minutes: 1st September 1914.

classes as useful as possible at this time of international conflict," (1) and that classes would have "more or less special reference to the war." (2) The history class dealt with modern history from 1870 and traced the causes of the conflict then beginning. The philosophy syllabus advertised that special attention would be devoted to the growth of the schools of German thought and their influence on current affairs. The war was to be more and more reflected in succeeding syllabuses but the peace was not forgotten. In 1915 we find lectures dealing with the possibility of a "Concert of Nations" and in the following summer there was a public lecture on the social aspects of the war.

Changes frequently occurred on the committee, among the students and the lecturers, because of the demands of military service and it was not long before the council grieved for the death in action of Colonel James Clark who was one of the vice-presidents of the branch. It was to fill a vacancy that a young man, William Graham, was appointed to conduct the economics class. He had just become a town councillor after his journalistic career in the Borders and he was destined to take a seat in Parliament and to be chosen

1. The Scotsman: 6th October 1914.

2. Edinburgh Evening Dispatch: 15th September 1914.

a member of the Cabinet as Financial Secretary to the Treasury and President of the Board of Trade. William Graham never forgot the benefit he had received from his service in the W.E.A. and his biographer has recorded, "Some of his happiest days were those between 1915 and 1918 as a young student at Edinburgh University when he acted as a lecturer and tutor under University auspices to W.E.A. classes." (1)

The war brought the association into contact with the Outlook Tower Association and we find a profitable venture in a series of nine public lectures held jointly in the Royal High School of Edinburgh on the "Nation and the War." Some 250 tickets were sold for these lectures. The lectures dealt with both the present and the future. Professor Darroch opened the series by discussing education after the war while others treated such subjects as commerce and war, municipalities and the war, agriculture, law and child welfare and labour and the war.

Numbers in the ordinary classes, however, fluctuated and such references as "27 students resigned through recruitment" (2) occur frequently. More deaths in action were listed

1. Graham, Thos.N.: Willie Graham: (Hutchison, n.d.)

2. Minutes: passim

including the branch secretary of 1914, Mr A.B.Hare, and Mr N.K.Paterson, one of the tutors before the war. Fears for the future of the branch were frequently expressed. In 1916, for example, School Board Continuation Classes Report questioned whether the Scottish Education Department would continue to pay grant for W.E.A. classes and prepared itself to "prevent increase of the Board's financial liability." (1) It was suggested that, to save money, the classes be changed from the University to the Royal High School or Boroughmuir School if the University could not be obtained free of charge. The classes were actually transferred to Boroughmuir School for one year. A second suggestion recommended that two instead of four classes be held and a third was to reduce the number of class meetings from twenty-four to sixteen. Three classes were, however, held in the following session. The School Board were much concerned about the value of the classes to the community and about the standard of the work done in them. "If the general object of the classes is to be attained it is inadvisable to raise the fee or to lower the rate at which tutors are remunerated." (2)

When, too, early in 1916, lighting restrictions became

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1. Edinburgh School Board Continuation Classes Report: 1916.
 2. *ibid.* p.12.

general in the city an advertisement in The Scotsman cancelled all evening classes in Edinburgh except those of the W.E.A. (1) At the same time there was a new demand for adult education - from members of H.M. Forces - and a plea was made for their admission to classes on generous terms. Some enrolled in W.E.A. classes but most found their way into classes in the general evening institutes.

The outstanding event of the war years was probably the visit to Edinburgh in September 1917 of Viscount Haldane of Cloan under the auspices of the branch. This meeting brought great kudos to the branch and helped to make its collaboration with university and civic authorities much smoother and easier. There were 1500 persons present in the Usher Hall when the Lord Provost, Sir John Lorne Macleod, took the chair. The platform party also included Sir Alfred Ewing, Principal of the University and Professor Darroch, President of the Branch. Viscount Haldane, whose theme was "Educated Democracy," did not believe there could be a real democracy in this country unless there was an educated democracy. "Education could not be shut into a water-tight compartment." He believed that no education was worthwhile "which was not based on a high general education - high in the way a man had been trained

1. The Scotsman: 26th February 1916.

to rise to new problems as new problems presented themselves."(1)
He commended the Workers' Educational Association.

The following summer saw the first summer term classes being arranged in literature and economics with a total enrolment of 106 and in 1918 although the war had not quite ended the W.E.A. held its first tutorial class in the city. The press commented, "For the first time students are offered not only the one year ordinary classes but also tutorial classes extending over three years of training." (2) A tutorial class in English Literature enrolled 25 students under Dr G.Kitchin of the English Department of the University. The students for this class promised to attend for the three sessions, to make contributions to the work of the class and to produce a certain amount of written work. In order to convince the School Board of the value of tutorial classes a deputation to the Board was appointed, each member being instructed to read Albert Mansbridge's book on tutorial classes beforehand!

Financial discussion often took place in the early days. The question of the fees paid to lecturers was a hard one

1. The Scotsman: 29th September 1917.

2. Edinburgh Evening News: 19th September 1918.

from the first. The earliest classes were conducted more or less voluntarily as the association had no more money than the fees paid by students and subscriptions from organisations and individuals and could not obtain any grant from central government funds. When the School Board took over, the fee for a session of 24 lectures of two hours' duration each was £16. In 1917 when one university lecturer asked for a fee of £20 at a time when there had been a general increase in wages the convener of the Continuation Classes sub-Committee of the School Board and the organiser held out no hope and doubted the advisability of "raising the matter at the present time." (1) This phraseology has had a familiar ring throughout the years. The successors of these representatives and officials have repeated the phrase many times up to the present. It is never 'advisable' in local government to raise the matter of increased remuneration. The branch council agreed with the lecturer that £20 was by no means too large a fee and considered paying the difference from branch funds. This was done in the case of this particular lecturer but "the question of increase in the fees of the other tutors was reserved for future consideration." (1) The matter was still being debated in the spring and the

1. Minutes: 8th August 1917.

complication had arisen in that the branch proposed tutorial classes and wished a higher fee for the tutors of these. The deputation to the Continuation Classes Committee met with a measure of success by obtaining £20 for each one year course and £30 for each three-year tutorial class provided the latter met twice weekly and the students paid a higher fee, five shillings, instead of the ordinary three shillings. To fulfil the twice weekly regulation the tutorial students attended the ordinary class one evening and met the second evening by themselves.

Post-War Expansion:

With the passing of the Munroe Act in 1918 and the wider powers given to Education Authorities there was an expansion of adult education work in the city. It was also agreed to watch carefully the demobilisation releases and the return to civilian life. The members of the council set themselves the task of bringing W.E.A. enthusiastically before the workers of Edinburgh. (1) Nine classes were held with an enrolment of 842 students compared with five classes in the previous year with 263 students and 195 in the year before

1. Secretary's Report: 1918-1919.

that. Professor Tovey appears as the first professor among the lecturers to give a complete course. His appreciation of music class enrolled 236 and Dr Kitchin had 273 in his English literature general and tutorial classes. A class in Dalry district in economics was "ardently supported and partly provided for from the funds of No.2 Branch National Union of Railwaymen." (1) Members were encouraged by the success of their efforts and decided to hold a campaign, visiting a number of bodies during the summer months to enlist support. The bodies listed in the minute include the Trades Council, the National Union of Railwaymen, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Shop Assistants' Union, Postmen's Federation, Railway Clerks' Association and the Cabinetmakers' Union. More propaganda included a public meeting jointly organised by the W.E.A. and the Educational Institute of Scotland in the Assembly Hall when an audience of over a thousand heard Professor John Adams of London. There was a profit on this meeting as there was also on a social meeting held in Bruntsfield School towards the end of the classes. The Working Men's Club, too, had become interested in the movement and offered accommodation for the meetings of the council of the branch.

1. Secretary's Report: 1919-1920.

The campaign was fruitful. A tutorial class in economics was requested and a day class in economics for workers in the General Post Office. The latter was given accommodation in the University Settlement. The Education Authority was also sympathetic regarding salaries and offered lecturers fees for general classes of £30 per session and £40 for tutorial classes. The number of evenings per session was reduced from twenty-four to twenty so that, in effect, the lecturers' fees were really raised for ordinary classes from 8s.4d. per hour to 15s. per hour. By the start of the following session, 1920-1921, the fees were again increased to £60 per ordinary session for University classes, music, literature and economics, and £50 for others. This figure remained virtually unchanged for the next thirty years. There was expansion of the work in all directions, classes, tutors, students. No wonder Councillor Sterling Craig who had been one of the early tutors of the branch could say at one of the closing functions, when complimenting the students on the standard of their work, that "he hoped soon to see every classroom in the old University occupied by students of literature, philosophy, economics, history and political science, while the new buildings in the Meadow Walk would be filled by students of natural science

and public health." (1) It was not to be many years before his words were to be fulfilled in the Old College, and the association was seeking additional accommodation in other University premises.

These were stirring times in W.E.A. activity in Scotland in which the Edinburgh branch played a large part. The Glasgow branch had been formed in 1915 and by the end of the war there were branches in Aberdeen, Ayrshire and Dundee. (2) On 8th March 1919 there was held in the Oddfellows' Hall, Edinburgh, the inaugural meeting of a Scottish Council. Delegates from Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow and affiliated bodies were present, presided over by Mr J.F.Rees (later to become Sir J.Frederick Rees) of the Edinburgh branch. But this body with which lay such great possibilities of expansion and cooperation disappointed its Edinburgh founders. It was reported that, at its very first meeting, there was disagreement between the branches about the election of office-bearers. Only the Edinburgh branch had made nominations.(3) By March 1920, it was reported to the branch that there was not whole-hearted support for the newly founded Scottish Council and motions

1. The Scotsman; 2nd April 1919.

2. Mary Stocks: op.cit. p.99

3. Minutes: A.G.M. 28th March 1918.

showing disagreement were moved. In the opinion of some of the branch members the constitution of the Scottish Council seemed to interfere with the practice of the branch. The motion was passed that the branch disapproved "of having to consult the district secretary, district council, or central council before considering cooperation with local bodies." (1) The branch had had cordial cooperation with local bodies up to that date and could not see that any advantage could be gained by having its autonomous approach questioned. The branch also disagreed with the central office in having appointed a financial organiser for Scotland, in that the appointment had been made by the London headquarters, without previous local consideration or approval.

The minutes record further complaints about both the administration and conduct of the Scottish Council and the central body, and two years later, in March 1922, we find a letter in which the branch states it is "of opinion that the present method of organising the Scottish Council is unnecessarily expensive and also that its methods of propaganda for the expansion of the association throughout Scotland would seem to be defective in that they are not having the

1. Minutes: A.G.M. 19th March 1920.

success that may reasonably be expected." (1) For these reasons the branch recommended a careful reconsideration of the whole organisation of the W.E.A. in Scotland. The difficulties facing the branch were largely financial. It had to subscribe to the general funds of the national organisation in London and also a sum to the Scottish Council. It saw its own meagre finances disappearing. Many of its students did not join the movement. They willingly paid their fees for the classes but were not so happy about contributing a further membership subscription. The branch wished a levy at enrolment but W.E.A. policy was to invite members of classes to subscribe a membership fee voluntarily. The method of levy was proposed to the central body but was rejected as unworkable. By 1922 it had been agreed that the membership of the branch should be one shilling per annum and that this would be an addition to the class fee charged by the Education Authority. It was also agreed to retain two-thirds of this shilling for work in Edinburgh and to divide the remainder between district and centre. This caused further friction as it did not fit into the schemes devised centrally and nationally. It was serious to the extent that a plea was made at the Scottish Council (2) that

1. Letter: March 1922.

2. W.E.A. Scottish Council: Minute 226.

"a breach between the branch and the W.E.A. in Scotland would be disastrous and must not be allowed to occur." Compromise was sought but the final breach was to come shortly on another issue.

The Edinburgh branch was becoming stronger each year. By the winter of 1922 some 1500 students were in attendance at 22 classes, some travelling quite long distances from outlying parts of the city and from the countryside around. The geology class had inspired thirty of its students to join the Edinburgh Geological Society as full members. (1) The University, on the application of Professor Norman Kemp Smith, then president of the branch, gave a grant of £100 per annum to relieve the secretary of certain of his many duties which were increasing annually. (2) The branch decided to allocate £50 of this sum to secure the services of some competent person "conversant with the Workers' Educational Association and sympathetic with its aims." (3) A new office was created, secretary of the classes. The first occupant of the office was Mr John Ewing, lecturer in Colonial History in the University, who was one of the tutors of the classes.

1. Minutes: 18th November 1922.

2. Minutes: 8th December 1923.

3. *ibid.*

At this stage, too, the branch was concerned about the formulation of government policy with regard to adult education in Scotland and invited the then Secretary of State for Scotland, the Right Honourable William Adamson, M.P., to address a public meeting in the city. He chose as his theme, "Education and Democracy," and emphasised the need of adult education for an efficient democracy. "The political importance of adult education lay in the fact it provided the only way for a colossal democracy to undergo social change, the consequence of which its members could be made to realise and comprehend." (1) He was supported on the platform by William Graham, as chairman, who was a former lecturer to the classes and then a Member of Parliament and Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The meeting helped to increase still further the prestige of the local branch.

The Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association:

The real crisis came in 1925. During the previous summer the W.E.A. central body had been making arrangements for closer liaison with the Trade Union movement. The Edinburgh branch, far from disagreeing with a closer connection with

1. Minutes: 6th December 1924 and public press.

any recognised body "approved of the proposal about a closer association with the Trade Union movement," (1) but, before agreeing to any proposals, it wished to know if there was any assurance "(a) that the W.E.A. will be maintained as a purely educational association and (b) that that policy will be advanced enthusiastically and energetically and that the organisation will not be allowed to become a lifeless body." (1) The branch was of the opinion which was also recognised by the national executive that to get the support of the Trades Union Congress it would probably be necessary to give guarantees that the Congress would be able to secure virtual control of the W.E.A. so that its wishes would be carried out. This probably meant that there would require to be a Trade Union majority on all the councils and committees of the W.E.A. and that in time, if not at the start, there would be a strong tendency to use the educational machinery of the W.E.A. for the purposes of the Congress. (2)

There was some hesitation in Scottish W.E.A. circles about the attitude of local education authorities to a change in the constitution of the W.E.A. One of the main

1. Minutes: 14th July 1924.

2. W.E.A.Scottish Council memorandum at time by Secretary.

difficulties in the early days had been to persuade the authorities that the movement was not a political one. If it became constitutionally controlled by the Trades Union Congress this suspicion might well be increased and a great deal of loyal and encouraging support might be lost for ever. There was no desire to antagonise friends. Indeed, in Edinburgh in 1925-1926 there were more W.E.A. students than in any other community of similar size in the British Isles.

The Edinburgh branch insisted literally on the non-political, non-sectarian and non-party aspects of the association. They felt that the agreement discussed during the summer imposed very definite restrictions on the freedom of the W.E.A. and gave an indication that these qualities might be proselytised. A special general meeting of the branch was held on 8th January 1926 in the Synod Hall at which both branch and district officials spoke. The opinion of the executive members was supported and a resolution carried which was to be confirmed two months later at the annual general meeting of the branch. "That the Edinburgh Branch secede from the W.E.A. at the end of the present session and that it authorise its office-bearers to enter into immediate negotiation with the necessary authorities with a view to carrying on under a different name the work

which it has hitherto performed." (1) So was formed an "association for the development of adult education in Edinburgh" (1) with the name "The Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association" and with a constitution whose first clause after the name states that "the Association shall be definitely non-sectarian and non-party in politics." (2)

The charge that the general body had changed its outlook on political matters was realised in other quarters. G.B.H. Cole went to much trouble in "The Highway" to explain that the agreement with the Trade Unions did not infringe "the entire independence and self-direction of the W.E.A." (3) and Mrs Mary Stocks, in her history, suggests that the W.E.A. executive were taken by surprise at the secession of the Edinburgh branch and became concerned about the attitude of the Scottish local education authorities on whom so much financial assistance depended. The committees "had to be assured.... and in the end most of them were - but not all." (4)

The new association had won the approval of the various

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1. Minutes: 8th January 1926 and 27th March 1926.
 2. Constitution of the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association.
 3. The Highway.
 4. Mary Stocks: op.cit. p.99.

bodies represented on its committees and of the bodies on which the W.E.A. was represented. Fortunately the Edinburgh Education Authority and the University recognised the new association and continued the facilities granted to its predecessor. There were twenty-six affiliated societies in 1924-1925 but most of them ceased to be represented. (1)

The W.E.A. sent representatives to some six organisations. (2)

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1. The following bodies are listed in the Minutes as having been affiliated in 1924-1925: - Union of Post Office Workers (Edinburgh Branch); Edinburgh, Leith and District Journeyman Coopers; Edinburgh Typographia; National Union of Shop Assistants (Edinburgh Branch); National Union of Railwaymen (No.2 Branch, Edinburgh); St Cuthbert's Cooperative Association Educational Committee; Esperanto Society (Edinburgh Branch); Educational Institute of Scotland (Edinburgh Branch); Working Men's Club, Edinburgh; Bakers' and Confectioners' Union (Edinburgh Branch); Prudential Staff Association; Geological Society, Edinburgh; Edinburgh Women's Citizens' Association; Railway Clerks' Association (West Edinburgh); Amalgamated Engineering Union (East Edinburgh Branch); Leith Provident Cooperative Association Education Committee; Edinburgh Social Union; Civil Service Clerical Association (Edinburgh Branch); Edinburgh Adult School; League of Nations Union (Edinburgh Branch); Community Players; Edinburgh and District Trades and Labour Council; Electrical Trade Union (Edinburgh Branch); Outlook Tower Association; Design and Industries Association (Edinburgh Branch); Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Edinburgh, West Branch)
 2. The W.E.A. had been represented on the following in 1924-1925: - Advisory Council of Edinburgh Education Authority; Council of Social Service, Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Settlement Association; B.B.C. Education Committee, Scotland; Joint Advisory Committee for Adult Education.

The first session saw difficulties in the path of the new association. The country was paralysed by a general strike but it was noted that the summer session classes had maintained an 89.4% attendance despite the fact that students "had to surmount many difficulties arising out of the conditions produced by the strike." (1) The local education authority decided to raise the class fee and to reduce the number of classes. Strong representation by the E.W.E.A. committee succeeded in having the fee raised only to 7s.6d. instead of 10s. to 15s. as originally proposed. There was an immediate decrease of some 250 in enrolments and adverse criticism about the publicity of the association.

By the spring of the following year the president, Professor Norman Kemp Smith, and others concerned about the future of the association put forward a suggestion that organisers should be appointed to assist with the development of the classes. It was strongly suggested that one of the organisers should have special knowledge of social work. (2) There was also a desire to have one of the organisers with Trade Union contacts. The various opinions

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1. Minutes: 12th July 1926.
 2. Minutes: 31st March 1927.

were sorted out and by the summer Miss Marjorie Rackstraw, warden of Masson Hall Women Students' Hostel in the University, and Mr David B. Horn (now Professor Horn) were appointed organisers. Their appointment was immediately justified by the increase of enrolments in the winter session and the steady advance in the next few years. The University, at the instigation of the president, now made a financial grant of £100 to finance these appointments and gave every encouragement to its lecturers in the work.

The minutes of the next few years are full of letters and conferences between the Scottish W.E.A. and the E.W.E.A. Every effort was made to try to bring the bodies together again. There were joint reports, arrangements for the attendance of students of the E.W.E.A. at Scottish W.E.A. summer schools, arrangements for the inter-availability of tutors, and delimitation of spheres of influence. Dr Mansbridge, however, refused an invitation to speak in Edinburgh, "because of the difficulties of the situation." (1) The organising secretary of the Scottish W.E.A. in 1928 expressed anxiety about the indication that the E.W.E.A. regarded the south-east of Scotland as its province. He

1. Minutes: 30th June 1927.

pointed out that the Scottish Council of the W.E.A. was bound to operate anywhere in Scotland where it thought there might be profitable development and then he added that the Scottish Council "are prepared to leave Edinburgh and its immediate environs to the E.W.E.A." (1) This last promise, however, has not been kept and in 1942 a new branch of the W.E.A. was formed in Edinburgh.

Re-union became more difficult as the financial system of the E.W.E.A. developed. Instead of inviting members of the classes to join the W.E.A. by paying a further voluntary subscription of half-a-crown, the E.W.E.A. made arrangements from the start to collect an extra shilling from each student enrolled. Thus every member of every class was a member of the association. This made re-union difficult as the national body was not in favour of one method of subscription in one branch and a different method in all the other branches. No formula could be found to effect a compromise here.

By 1932 the re-union argument was wearing thin by being raised annually. The implications were carefully considered at a specially convened meeting in December. The president, Professor R.K.Hannay, remarked that, if it was decided to

1.Scottish W.E.A.: letter: quoted in Minutes 10th July 1928.

form a branch of the W.E.A., two other bodies would have to be considered, the Edinburgh Education Committee and the University, just as both had been consulted at the time of the secession. Councillor Allan of the Education Committee said that that committee would have nothing to do with the W.E.A. and that if a branch was formed it might be that the Education Committee would withdraw its financial support.(1) Fears were still expressed about the effect of any Trade Union or other control of the W.E.A. and Dr Horn reminded the meeting that the object of the E.W.E.A. was "to make good citizens and not good trade unionists." (1) The non-party aspect was emphasised so strongly that it was agreed to take no further action about the union.

This, however, did not end the approaches by the Scottish W.E.A. to the Edinburgh association. The advances were always from the Scottish side who seemed to wish to absorb the Edinburgh body. As a compromise solution it was suggested by the honorary treasurer of the E.W.E.A. that the Edinburgh body become affiliated to the W.E.A. as seemed possible under the W.E.A. constitution, (2) but this overture was refused because, said Mr Crabbe, the Scottish secretary, the W.E.A.

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1. Minutes: 19th December 1932.
 2. Minutes: 30th March 1942.

hoped to start a branch in Edinburgh and did not wish another association with a similar name. Edinburgh, however, felt it could not give up "the tradition we have built up and also a considerable part of our finance." (1)

A branch of the W.E.A. was formed in Edinburgh in 1942 and a difficult situation arose with two bodies in the same city appealing to the citizens. It was soon found that, far from drawing their students from the ranks of trade unionists, the composition of the membership of the classes of the two bodies was similar. It was therefore decided that officials of the two bodies should meet prior to the opening of the classes to compare programmes so that there would be no overlapping. (2) This was done and complete agreement was thought to have been attained, that the E.W.E.A. should take up the more academic aspects of the subjects and the W.E.A. the technical and political aspects. (3) Within a year the organiser reported to the E.W.E.A. council that "though an agreement had been made that there should be no overlapping of classes the agreement had not been adhered to by the W.E.A." (4) During the succeeding years the same criticisms appeared of the W.E.A.

1. *ibid.*

2. Minutes: 7th July 1943.

3. Minutes: 8th October 1943.

4. Minutes: 6th October 1944.

syllabus although the E.W.E.A. had rigidly adhered to the initial agreement. Further overtures were rejected and even a suggestion within the E.W.E.A. itself that its name be changed in view of the confusion with the W.E.A. and the change in meaning of the word 'worker' over the years met with little support. "To change the name entirely might mislead people into supporting the classes of the W.E.A." (1) The general feeling was that the goodwill and the traditions of the past thirty years might be lost by such an action. Hence there are two bodies in Edinburgh making somewhat similar appeals to the public, the one, the E.W.E.A., linked to the University and embracing all shades of political opinion and the other, the W.E.A., linked to the national body of the W.E.A.

Links with other Bodies:

The years between the wars were not entirely taken up with the rivalries, if not jealousies, between the two bodies. The E.W.E.A. took part in many forward movements and not least in the development of broadcasting. In December 1927 Mr W. Cleghorn Thomson, then Scottish Controller of the

1. Minutes: 28th June 1954.

British Broadcasting Company spoke to the council of the E.W.E.A. about the possibilities of cooperation between the E.W.E.A. and the B.B.C. (1) It was hoped that the B.B.C. would endeavour to stimulate interest in adult education. In 1939 the E.W.E.A. took part in the conferences on the subject of listening groups. Since then courses have been arranged from time to time to discuss themes of broadcasts and separate classes have acted as monitor groups for radio programmes in many subjects.

In 1928 when the Court of the University of Edinburgh set up the Joint Advisory Committee on Adult Education for South-East Scotland the E.W.E.A. was represented by two members. (1) When, later, the University formed its Extra-Mural Committee the association was again represented. The president of the E.W.E.A. at the time, Professor John Macmurray, became the first chairman of the Extra-Mural Committee and his successor as president, Professor A.D.Ritchie, in turn succeeded him as chairman of the same committee. When, a little later still, it was intimated that the University proposed the appointment of a full-time Director of Extra-Mural Studies whose duties would cover the whole area

1. Minutes: special meeting: 1st June 1928.

of the south-east of Scotland, Professor Macmurray thought it would assist the association if that member of University staff were appointed honorary organiser of the E.W.E.A. and that another "probable advantage would be that the difference between the W.E.A. and the E.W.E.A. would be solved." (1)

Professor G.T.Thomson (later Sir Godfrey Thomson) expressed disapproval of any change which might "reduce the independence and the spirit of voluntary service of an association such as the E.W.E.A." (1)

Six months later Mr A.R.C.Duncan who had succeeded Dr Horn as organiser was appointed to a chair in the University of Kingston, Ontario, and the post of organiser became vacant. Considerable discussion took place as to whether the appointment should be made part of the duties of the new Director of Extra-Mural Studies. Grave doubts and fears were expressed but these were allayed entirely when the University's appointment was announced, Mr James Hossack, who was well-known to the council and had been for many years a successful lecturer in the association's geography classes. Mr Hossack was unanimously appointed honorary organiser. (2)

1. Minutes: 25th June 1948.

2. Minutes: 27th June 1949 and 26th September 1949.

In 1936, Newbattle Abbey opened its doors as an adult education college. It was hoped that members of the W.E.A. and similar bodies would take advantage of the opportunities offered. The E.W.E.A. led the way by example. "It was agreed to offer a bursary or scholarship in the first place to one of our own students, failing which to offer a bursary to any person considered by the committee fit and suitable to benefit thereby." (1) The value of the scholarship was £70 and the first recipient was Miss Jessie Brown, 10 St John's Hill, who acquitted herself well according to the reports of the tutors.

Newbattle was also the chosen venue of the semi-jubilee celebrations of the association. These took place on 23rd October 1937 with Principal J.F.Rees, then of Cardiff, Sir J.W.Peck of the Scottish Education Department, Professor Kemp Smith, the president of the E.W.E.A., and Councillor Paris of the Edinburgh Education Committee as the principal speakers. The Edinburgh Corporation gave a civic reception in the City Chambers in the evening of the same day.

There had been considerable liaison between the W.E.A.

1. Minutes: 9th October 1936.

and the W.E.T.U.C. for the district. When the W.E.A. ceased to exist the new association was very careful about political or sectarian bias and no effort was made to link up with the W.E.T.U.C. When that body, however, asked the Education Authority to support a class in economics the Education Authority put the management of the class under the E.W.E.A. This caused discussion but the arrangement continued amicably for a number of years until the W.E.T.U.C. ceased to support a class. Other bodies were gradually linked with the E.W.E.A. by and through the Education Authority of the city. The Newman Association and later the Aquinas Society hold annual classes in collaboration although they are sectarian in origin. The Natural History Society, the Georgian Group, the Edinburgh Astronomical Society, the Saltire Society, the Townswomen's Guild and similar bodies, all with sectional interests of some sort but able to support large enough classes on their own have been linked up under the Education Committee's Supervisor of Adult Education Classes who is the Honorary Secretary of the E.W.E.A. The arrangement has been a happy one and has assisted in the development of both the E.W.E.A. and the societies concerned. Liaison in more recent years with central and local government bodies has added greatly to the extent of adult education work. The Civil Service Council for Further

Education (Scotland) in the Edinburgh area has publicised adult education and sponsored some classes. Government departments have supported classes for their own specialist employees in such subjects as pensions, child care and community life while the Police Federation, along with the chief constables of the area, have sponsored classes in criminology for police officers. The Y.M.C.A. and other voluntary bodies have swelled the total of classes. In the organisation of classes in 1960 collaboration is maintained with many bodies whose help and advice are sought or whose premises are used. The Scottish Council of Industrial Design, the East of Scotland Agricultural College, the Royal Botanic Garden, the Royal Scottish Museum, the National Gallery of Scotland, the Museum of Antiquities, the Royal Scottish Zoological Society, the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, the Edinburgh Geological Society, the Edinburgh Festival Society are among such bodies. The tutors are often the principals themselves of the bodies concerned and the public have recognised the high standards of the instruction given. The organisers of adult education have become public relations officers at a high level and the results of their efforts enhance the prestige of adult education: Adult education has changed and developed with the changing and the developing conditions of the community.

Modern Trends in Classes:

There are almost fashions in subjects studied in adult education. At least it would appear so from the records. Almost a complete record of the classes held in Edinburgh by the W.E.A. and its successor the E.W.E.A. has been compiled from the available sources. (see Appendices V and VI) The numbers enrolled in the various classes have been given so far as information is available. In the early days when the association was feeling its way and had little room for expansion the subjects of study were history, philosophy, economics and English literature, what might be called the 'bread and butter' subjects of the W.E.A. movement generally. The last two subjects attracted large numbers of students for some twenty years but, by the start of the second World War, there was a considerable struggle on the part of the organisers to muster the minimum prescribed number of twenty students to form a class. Tutorial classes in English literature began in addition to the sessional class in 1918 and continued till 1936. The ordinary class in that period exceeded a hundred students on fourteen occasions and was over two hundred four times. The largest enrolment was 296 in 1920. Of the subjects offered in the early years, English literature alone has continued into the present, having had

only one blank year, 1948, when the minimum enrolment could not be obtained for a course on Milton. The art of writing English was introduced as a separate subject in 1936 and except for a short wartime break has continued as a large class. It has been run on tutorial lines with the students performing many exercises in the course of the session. This class has been the means of encouraging a number of new writers whose works in prose, verse and drama have been published in various books, periodicals and newspapers while not a few have also been broadcast. So important some of the senior students considered the tuition that they formed a club from their members which meets regularly even in periods of vacation.

History itself has never attracted many students although it was the very first subject offered in 1912. For a long period from 1937 to 1952 there was no purely history class. Periods or aspects of history have appeared on the syllabus at different times. In the 1920s economic history and Graeco-Roman civilisation continued for a few years. Scottish history has fared in the same way. When, however, international problems was introduced as a subject of study in 1937 it immediately caught on and can still be relied upon to enrol fifty to a hundred students each session. Since the second

World War local history has become a popular subject enrolling over a hundred students who continue into the summer term in order to visit places discussed in the winter lectures. During the second World War classes were held in the history and civilisation of the countries whose troops were stationed in the neighbourhood of the city or were our allies on particular battlefields. Classes on Poland, Czechoslovakia, United States of America were successful and another on the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics attracted students for about three years. At the present sufficient students cannot be found to form a class to study Russia and the Soviet states although classes in reading Russian language have been overcrowded in the last two years (1959 and 1960) especially by scientists and others who wish to be able to read Russian documents and reports in the original. The post-war period has also brought a new group of classes, each undertaking the study of the history, culture, customs and philosophy of different nations. Classes on Italy, Spain and Denmark have attracted many students and those on Norway, Holland and Germany fewer. No doubt this increase is in some way connected with the increase of tourism to the continent of Europe. In the main, however, there has been a sincere desire on the part of the students to understand better these countries and their peoples. Another post-war

development has been the study of archaeology, no doubt partly due to the popularisation of the subject on radio and television.

Scientific subjects were introduced for the first time in 1919. Astronomy, geology and natural history were first, followed by botany two years later and physics and chemistry by 1923. Of these, geology alone has had an unbroken record. Both botany and geology were able to have two- and three-year courses in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Astronomy only survived six years from 1920 to be revived later in 1930 for another four and finally to find a permanent place from 1950 when second and third year classes were added. The fact that the class meets in the City Observatory on Calton Hill, by courtesy of the Astronomical Society of Edinburgh, has been an added attraction to the students as they have the opportunity to observe as well as to study the theoretical aspects of the subject in the lecture-hall. Natural History has seldom been a successful winter evening class but its summer session, held usually in the Park of the Royal Scottish Zoological Society, has had embarrassingly high attendances and has had to be divided into sections. Other science subjects have come and gone. Physiology successfully held its place for some seventeen years from 1932: biology flourished in the same period. In 1927, at the

period of the public campaign on healthy living, and the growing public interest in vitamins and dietetics generally, large classes were found in subjects like healthy living and in diet and health. These large numbers were generally inspired by the reputation of the lecturers. These survived for four years. It was not till 1948 that a revival took place. Classes commenced then in public health, bacteriology and various aspects of hygiene. The various classes in physics have depended on the personalities and the ability of the lecturers to put their subjects into simple and interesting language. They have never been large except when the subject of wireless and electricity was offered from 1927 for some five years. This interest was probably due to the development of radio commercially but when radar was offered as a theme for a class after the second World War it was with difficulty that fifteen students were encouraged to enrol. As was the case in many Mechanics' Institutes earlier, chemistry has never had a lasting success although, when the subject has been delimited for a particular group of students, much satisfactory work and successful classes have been possible. Such a class was held in 1959 for science graduates, teachers, chemists and the like on recent developments in the subject with the intention of bringing the students up to date.

The arts did not enter the curriculum of adult education in Edinburgh until 1919 when the late Professor Sir Donald Tovey undertook a music class which enrolled 240 students in its first year and 316 in the next - the latter being the largest enrolment in a single class held for adult education in the area of Edinburgh University. Appreciation of art with the late Professor Baldwin Brown began the following year with 157 students. These two classes have continued with unbroken record since their inception and have for the last twenty years supported classes in the summer term. Developments of these subjects varied from time to time. Church music was popular in the 1920s; tutorial music classes were held from 1920 to 1930; pianoforte study began in 1935 while a special summer course on harmony has an almost unbroken record from 1922. Various divisions of art subjects have attracted many students. The arts of France, Italy and Spain, Celtic art, and the Near East have been the subjects of separate classes. Even Chinese and Japanese art were subjects studied at one time. Architecture really began as a summer term class in 1933 when the students visited places of architectural interest in the pursuit of the study of the subject but since the early days of the second World War it has lasted over three terms each year.

In 1934 the spoken word began to take its place alongside the written. It has often been argued that Scots are less vocal than their southern neighbours. Public speaking classes were a success from the start and have generally attracted over fifty students each session. While the course has been essentially practical in that it has taught the technique of speaking in public on all kinds of occasions, it has also been a theoretic class. Through its seminars on verbal expression, English language has also been taught. Students have listened to and criticised their fellows but in the last five or six years they have learned to criticise themselves by the judicious use of the tape-recorder. Drama has featured in the programmes as the art of the theatre. Classes have not studied plays simply for the sake of acting in them. The theory and practice of the arts of the producer, director, and stage-manager have been linked with that of the actor. The historical development of the drama and the theatre have also been studied. To achieve this a large repertoire of plays has been discussed in the classes. In this particular work there has been a close liaison with the Scottish Community Drama Association who have encouraged their prospective leading producers and players to attend. After the Edinburgh International Festival of Music and Drama was inaugurated classes were formed each summer term to give background and

critical knowledge of the various musical, dramatic and artistic works to be presented at each forthcoming festival, a task which became impossible in 1960 when the major portion of the dramatic programme consisted of new works about which no information was available or released.

Although philosophy was one of the first subjects it has been out of favour for two spells of about five years each. Within the last two or three years there have been each session three classes studying philosophical themes, all with good enrolments and attendances. In addition classes in logic and thought have attracted students. On the other hand psychology has fallen in numbers. Psychology began in 1921 with 238 students and had two periods of great demand, the first from 1921 to 1925 and the second, a longer one from 1941 to 1951. In the latter period no fewer than three or four classes were held annually dealing with different aspects of the subject. It was the period when the word 'psychology' was on everybody's lips and people generally were anxious to find out something of what they considered its mysteries. Religion has had a varied response over the years. From 1922 to 1932 classes maintained a steady enrolment for biblical study of the old and the new testaments. There was another short spell from 1943 to 1947

during the war years but no further classes were held till 1951 to 1960, the first summer term class being held in 1959. It has been said in explanation of the small numbers attending classes on religion that the church itself has its classes in its congregations and in its centre at Simpson House in Queen Street.

It is difficult to account for the rise and fall of the numbers attending different classes, their disappearance for a few years and their reappearance, sometimes under a new name. In the Edinburgh lists a few classes were 'axed' when the local authority for financial reasons limited the number of classes offered. In many cases the classes ceased or diminished in attendance when a brilliant tutor left. In more recent years it has been noted that new tutors have to be given a year or two in order to establish themselves. There may be fashion of subject studied but there is also the attraction of a good lecturer. Because adult education is voluntary the adult educator must win his students. His efforts must have something about them of the salesman, the propagandist, the journalist and even at times the entertainer. Just as a product is accepted into the household after trial, - probably after a great deal of publicity effort and a free sample, - so also is an adult education class. The household

changes its product from time to time and the E.W.E.A. has found that it has to change its subjects offered or at least the titles of the classes. The subjects of yesterday and today are basically the same but they are probably more attractively and differently presented. The twentieth century and its contribution to science has changed the product of the kitchen: it has changed the presentation in the classroom. The type of lecture visualised by some of the professors at Edinburgh who endeavoured to conduct the University Extension scheme of last century would not succeed today. Adult education to succeed in 1960 must be presented in 1960 ways. Educational and documentary films, radio and television have shown how difficult subjects can be presented in an attractive manner. Education must seize the ideas of presentation offered and present its products, its knowledge, in mid-twentieth century form. The entertainment world has aroused the curiosity, for example, in archaeology and scientific subjects. The adult education world must be ready, able and willing to satisfy the curiosity.

In its realisation of this need the E.W.E.A. has throughout its history worked in close collaboration with the University. Its organisers have all been University men and have been able to call on the services of their colleagues

as tutors of classes. The standard of the work accomplished has thus been assured and the public assured of classes of quality. From the small beginnings of a voluntary body with no financial backing in 1912 the E.W.E.A. approaches its jubilee stronger than ever through its wise cooperation with the local education authority which it had to accept originally rather reluctantly and with the University, whose friendship and responsibility has increased through the years. Today with a membership of over two thousand students the Edinburgh Workers' Educational Association is an important educational body in the city.

Enrolment of Students in
Winter Classes held by M.E.A. and E.W.E.A. from 1912 to 1959

1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959								
-	41	22	45	40	50	35	166	68	114	138	87	56	64	61	62a	46	50	40	85	32	32	24	-	53	60	62	-	31	39	52	45	68	67	16	63	24	45	-	25	25	27a	54	24	21	20	17	Economics								
-	30	25	40	39	102a	130a	271a	296a	250a	246a	166a	156a	114a	140a	148a	113a	97a	124a	138a	126a	138a	76a	96	78	75	66	33	31	41	41	41	62	125	40	15	-	48	40	47	20	20	40	21	32a	80a	82	English Literature								
-	59	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Government (Admin.)								
c160	-	19	31	-	43	28	52	33	58	26	31	33	20	23	35	23	35	27	5	24	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27a	101	38	37	35	29	26	26	19	22a	76a	58b	100a	84	Philosophy							
																																																History							
							240	316	219	113	122	124	130	58	46	43	47	56	40	31	33	28	25	29	32	35	39	26	69	97	111	119	132	62	81	48	70	40	77	46	55a	52	59	56	109a	84	21	Appreciation of Music							
							27	44	14	26	38	28	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Law						
							44	43	46	42	-	29	25	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Geography						
							157	99	108	101	95	98	57	51	113	52	57	59	73	38	5	30	31	49	76	-	19	42	45	36	63	58	101	77	25	21	44	142a	127a	66a	68	72b	90b	99b	198c	170	Appreciation of Art								
							135	79	48	27	20	24	-	-	-	-	21	26	35	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Astronomy					
							126	143	50	75	47	17	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Economic History					
							59	126	81	81a	60	47	22	44	31	30	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Tutorial Music				
							31	21	-	24	27	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Natural History/Zoology				
							73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	French History					
							49	60	35	37	68	29	-	25	41a	65	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	Drama/Art of Theatre				
							78	64	60	40	40a	58a	62a	40a	63	38a	58a	51	38	36	19	29	36	31	33	27	21	22	17	29	33	22	33	16	19	23	16	21	14	35	41	39	42	41	34	Geology									
							49	35	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Greece and Rome				
							30	38	36	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Church Music				
							238	200	184	104	65	48	50	60	63	74	57	66	56	50	75a	86a	114a	104a	42a	59a	92a	144a	125a	125b	149b	131b	122c	187c	168a	117c	111b	93a	48	52a	63a	45a	70	21	46	Psychology									
							45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	Current Affairs				
							34	38	32	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Religion/Biblical Studies					
							80	74	35	19	16	34	39a	42a	46a	52a	42	45	27	24	25	22	21	-	20	25	22	27	40	43	42	47	58	58	35	19	19	16	23	23	17	16	25	24	Botany										
							120	35	44	-	25	37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Civics/Citizenship				
							59	29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Italy History &c.				
							36	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	Physics				
							31	-	17	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Italian Literature			
							19	23	21	24	27	29	37	47	38	43	43	32	36	38	16	18	23	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	French Literature		
							46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Logic		
							52	-	35	70	36	-	26	18	-	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Scottish Heritage		
							88	39	63	28	24	29	24	30	34	30	32	25	27	28	-	22	22	26	29	34	36	32	33	26	32	28	23	25	25	25	17	29	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	Piano/forte Study			
							24	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Chemistry		
							18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Russia/U.S.S.R.	
							20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Electricity/Wireless	
							29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Germany Culture/Literature	
							33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Health/Diet	
							18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Scottish Literature	
							20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Spain Culture/Literature	
							29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Physiology	
							49	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Architecture	
							15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Archaeology	
							50	29	42	64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Edinburgh
							72	68	54	69	45	36	56	62	81	58	68	79	46	80	81	80	60	57a	80	50	52	54	56	64	84	90	91	Public Speaking																					
					</																																																		

APPENDIX VI

Summer Term Classes held by W.E.A. and E.W.E.A. from
1918 to 1959 with enrolment of students

1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959					
45	63	41	34	82	-	-	-	-	21	32	46	39	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Economics		
63	41	133	78	112	60	59	59	50	88	36a	82a	65a	57a	70	67	44	42	35	37	40	36	34	39	26	62	28	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	English Literature	
																																														French Language & Literature
																																														Economic History
																																														Geology
																																														Harmony
																																														Current Affairs
																																														Social Psychology
																																														Botany
																																														Appreciation of Music
																																														Drama/Art of Theatre
																																														Electricity/Sound Recording
																																														German Civilisation
																																														Archaeology
																																														Geography
																																														Natural History/Zoology
																																														Architecture
																																														Edinburgh
																																														Public Speaking
																																														Biology
																																														International Problems
																																														Russia/U.S.S.R.
																																														Appreciation of Art
																																														Civics/Citizenship
																																														Weather Forecasting
																																														Gaelic
																																														In Your Garden
																																														African Affairs
																																														Bacteriology
																																														Edinburgh Festival
																																														Norway
																																														Italy
																																														Social Philosophy
																																														Ornithology
																																														Spain
																																														Scottish Heritage
																																														Denmark
																																														Biblical Study

NOTES: a. indicates TWO classes in the subject.
b. indicates THREE classes in the subject.

The figures have been obtained from records in the Education Offices, Edinburgh, for 1918 to 1959 and in a few places differ from figures in the Minute Books of the W.E.A. and E.W.E.A.

The figures for 1959-1960 are from enrolment cards.

NOTES: a. indicates TWO classes in the subject.
b. indicates THREE classes in the subject.

The figures have been obtained from records in the Education Offices,
Edinburgh, for 1918 to 1959 and in a few places differ from figures
in the Minute Books of the W.E.A. and E.W.E.A.

The figures for 1959-1960 are from enrolment cards.

APPENDIX VII

Classes held by W.E.A. (Edinburgh and District) Branch
from 1942 to 1959 with enrolment of students

1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	
1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	
65	21	-	58	31	29a	69	28	20	18	-	-	16	-	16	21	18	22	WINTER CLASSES
19	-	-	-	26	22	17	-	16a	46	16	17	18	21a	38a	95b	84b	76	Current Affairs
18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Public Speaking &c.
19	27	24	12	15	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	British Commonwealth
30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Psychology
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Social Security
19	28	16	15	-	10	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Trade Unionism
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	Economics
27	35	35	14	-	15	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Social History
15	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Appreciation of Music
14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Philosophy
18	17	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	Appreciation of Art
27	39	42	27	57	60	44	26	26	46	30	54	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dramatic Art
19	22	34	31	38	15	30	39	43a	73a	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Edinburgh
16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	German Conversation
54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Art (Sketching)
42	27	54	25	22	17	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Astronomy
24	49	27	18	17	68a	56a	66a	68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Natural History
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ornithology
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	French Conversation
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Scottish Folk Tradition
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Scottish Literature
18	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Denmark
b114b	105b	91b	65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rapid Reading
15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Scotland
20	30a	49a	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Spanish Conversation
41	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Common Man
21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Archaeology
12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	15	-	-	SUMMER CLASSES
20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Public Speaking &c.
16	13	16	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Psychology
25	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	Current Affairs
19	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Appreciation of Music
43	17	17	32	23	26	16	17	20	40	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Appreciation of Art
40	32	42	30	67a	55	59	57	76	75	59	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dramatic Art
19	16	15	15	15	15	15	15	16	20	18	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	Edinburgh
55	49	40a	50	53	33	31	40	33	15	15	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	German Conversation
17	17	15	15	15	15	15	15	17	20	23	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	Ornithology
25	21	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	French Conversation
34	20	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Spanish Conversation
23	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Rapid Reading
23	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Art (Sketching)

NOTES:

- a. indicates TWO classes in the subject.
b. indicates THREE classes in the subject.

The figures have been obtained from the records of the Education Offices, Edinburgh, except 1959-1960 which are from enrolment cards.

APPENDIX VIIILIST of BRANCHES of the WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
in SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND up to JUNE 1960

(Branches shown -1960 are still in existence, June 1960)

Edinburgh	1912-1926 1942-1960	seceded (became E.W.E.A. 1926-60)
Hawick	1919-1926 1953-1960	dissolved
Calders District	1920-1922	dissolved
Bathgate	1921-1926 1948-1956	dissolved dissolved
Penicuik	1921-1923	dissolved
Selkirk	1922-1934 1945-1952	dissolved dissolved
Bo'ness	1921-1926 1950-1960	students' group
Broxburn	1924-1927 1948-1950	students' group dissolved
Galashiels	1930-1953	dissolved
Jedburgh	1931-1934 1943-1948 1950-1956	dissolved dissolved dissolved
Walkerburn	1933-1934	dissolved
Prestonpans	1936-1937	dissolved
Bonnyrigg	1936-1937	dissolved
Whitburn	1946-1949	dissolved

APPENDIX IX

ANALYSIS of the OCCUPATIONS of ADULT STUDENTS attending
EDINBURGH WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL CLASSES in various years
from 1930 to 1960

(For detail of 1936-37 and 1959-60 see Appendix X)

A. GENERAL SUMMARY:

	1930-31		1933-34		1935-36		1936-37		1959-60	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Industrial	71	8.5	34	5.5	50	7.2	55	6.9	112	4.8
Commercial	204	24.2	203	32.4	314	45.1	248	31.0	433	18.7
Domestic	93	11.1	135	21.6	71	10.2	27	3.4	130	5.6
Professional	282	33.5	146	23.3	132	19.0	233	29.1	784	33.9
Miscellaneous	191	22.7	108	17.2	129	18.5	237	29.6	856	37.0
Individuals	841	100.0	626	100.0	696	100.0	800	100.0	2315	100.0

B. SELECTED OCCUPATIONS:

	1930-31		1933-34		1935-36		1936-37		1959-60	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Housewives	90	10.7	80	12.8	-	-	98	12.3	491	21.2
Teachers	159	18.9	105	16.8	-	-	92	11.5	270	11.7
Civil Servants	68	8.1	67	10.6	-	-	81	10.1	187	8.1
Clerks, Secys	95	11.3	104	16.6	-	-	134	16.8	290	12.5
Bookkeepers										
Students	47	5.6	17	2.7	-	-	24	3.0	89	3.8
No stated occupation	125	14.8	138	22.0	-	-	89	11.1	110	4.8

Detail for 1935-36 not available.

APPENDIX XOCCUPATIONS of ADULT STUDENTS attending E.W.E.A. CLASSES
in 1936-1937 and in 1959-1960

NOTE: The classification of occupations is that used by Edinburgh Education Committee for their annual returns.

Occupation	1936-37			1959-60		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
<u>INDUSTRIAL:</u>						
Artisan ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
Boilermaker ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Bookbinder ...	1	-	1	-	1	1
Bookfolder ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Builder ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Crane Driver ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Displayman ...	-	-	-	-	2	2
Confectionary Maker ...	1	-	1	-	-	-
Dressmaker ...	-	3	3	-	1	1
Engineer ...	6	-	6	19	-	19
do Mining ...	-	-	-	3	-	3
do Electronics ...	-	-	-	5	-	5
do Gas... ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
do Television ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
do Works ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
do G.P.O. ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
do Electrical ...	-	-	-	9	-	9
do Marine ...	-	-	-	3	-	3
do Radar ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
do Telephone ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
do Motor/Mechanic ...	4	-	4	1	-	1
Estimator... ...	-	-	-	3	-	3
Fitter ...	3	-	3	3	-	3
Gas Worker ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hollerith Operator ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hosiery Worker ...	-	1	1	-	-	-
Industrial Relations Officer	-	-	-	1	-	1
Joiner ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
Laboratory Assistant ...	3	2	5	6	6	12
Laundry Worker ...	-	2	2	-	-	-
Mason, Monumental ...	1	-	1	-	-	-
Mineworker ...	1	-	1	-	1	1
Nurseryman ...	1	1	2	-	-	-
Painter ...	2	-	2	3	-	3

Occupation	1936-37			1959-60		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Paper Maker	1	-	1	-	-	-
Piano Repairer and Tuner	1	-	1	-	-	-
Plumber	-	-	-	4	-	4
Printer	5	-	5	3	-	3
Printer's Reader... ..	-	-	-	1	-	1
Printing Worker	-	4	4	-	-	-
Research Worker	-	-	-	6	4	10
Rubber Worker	1	-	1	-	-	-
Poultry Worker	-	1	1	-	-	-
Road Surfaceman	1	-	1	-	-	-
Scientific Instrument Maker	1	-	1	-	-	-
Sculptor	1	-	1	-	-	-
Stained Glass Worker ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Stevedore... ..	-	-	-	1	-	1
Supervisor, Industry ...	-	-	-	-	3	3
Surgical Instrument Maker	-	-	-	1	-	1
Tailor	1	1	2	-	-	-
Technical Assistant ...	2	-	2	-	-	-
Textile Technician ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Underclothing Machinist...	-	1	1	-	-	-
Upholsterer	-	1	1	-	-	-
Wireless Machanic	1	-	1	-	-	-
Wood Machinist	-	-	-	1	-	1
Whisky Blender	-	-	-	1	-	1
COMMERCIAL:						
Advocate's Devil... ..	-	-	-	1	-	1
Bank Clerk	13	-	13	9	13	22
Bank Manager	-	-	-	3	-	3
Bookkeeper	-	9	9	1	9	10
Bookseller	3	1	4	1	-	1
Buyer	-	1	1	2	4	6
Bus Conductor	1	-	1	-	-	-
Cashier	-	-	-	2	13	15
Chemist Salesman... ..	5	4	9	-	-	-
Clerk	35	28	63	27	40	67
Canvasser... ..	1	2	3	-	-	-
Company Director... ..	-	-	-	3	-	3
Comptometer Operator ...	-	1	1	-	5	5
Draper	1	4	5	-	-	-
Electrical Salesman ...	1	-	1	-	-	-
Engineer, Sales	-	-	-	2	-	2
Estate Agent	2	-	2	-	-	-

Occupation	1936-37			1959-60		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Florist	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fishmonger	-	-	-	3	-	3
Fruiterer... ..	-	1	1	-	-	-
Furniture/Furnishing Sales	-	-	-	3	1	4
Grocery Salesman... ..	1	-	1	1	-	1
Hairdresser	1	2	3	1	4	5
Hotel Manager	-	-	-	-	2	2
Hotelier	-	-	-	1	-	1
Inspector... ..	4	-	4	-	-	-
Insurance Clerk	7	1	8	3	12	15
Insurance Official	-	-	-	8	1	9
Interior Designer	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ironmonger	1	-	1	-	-	-
Law Clerk... ..	10	-	10	-	-	-
Manager	-	-	-	13	2	15
Meat Inspector	-	-	-	4	-	4
Merchant	3	-	3	-	-	-
Milliner	-	-	-	-	1	1
Motor Salesman	4	-	4	-	-	-
Motor Driver	-	-	-	4	-	4
Org.& Methods Officer N.C.B.	-	-	-	1	-	1
Personnel Supervisor	-	-	-	1	1	2
Photographer	-	-	-	4	1	5
Postman	-	-	-	1	-	1
Railway Service	1	-	1	1	-	1
Receptionist	-	-	-	-	4	4
Salesman/Shop Assistant...	12	6	18	16	7	23
Secretary... ..	1	23	24	3	112	115
Seedsman	-	-	-	1	-	1
Seed Analyst	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sorting Clerk	6	-	6	-	-	-
Stationer... ..	1	-	1	-	-	-
Telegraphist	-	3	3	1	-	1
Telecommunications Worker	-	-	-	3	-	3
Telephonist	-	2	2	-	2	2
Tobacconist	-	1	1	-	-	-
Traveller/Representative	6	-	6	12	-	12
Typist/Shorthand Typist...	-	38	38	-	56	56
Valuer, Mineral	-	-	-	1	-	1
Warehouseman	1	-	1	3	-	3

Occupation	1936-37			1959-60		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
<u>DOMESTIC:</u>						
Caterer	-	-	-	2	-	2
Cook	-	-	-	-	3	3
Domestic Help	-	-	-	-	2	2
Gardener	3	1	4	2	-	2
Health Visitor	-	-	-	-	7	7
Housekeeper	-	-	-	-	12	12
Housemother	-	-	-	1	11	12
Janitor	-	-	-	1	-	1
Midwife	-	-	-	-	4	4
Matron	-	-	-	-	19	19
Nurse	-	7	7	1	39	40
Nursery Nurse	-	-	-	-	24	24
Servant, resident	-	15	15	-	-	-
Waiter	1	-	1	-	-	-
Warden, Hostel	-	-	-	-	2	2
<u>PROFESSIONAL:</u>						
Accountant	5	1	6	23	5	28
Actuary	3	-	3	1	-	-
Almoner	-	-	-	-	8	8
Architect... ..	2	-	2	33	3	36
Art Adviser	-	-	-	-	2	2
Artist	-	-	-	1	5	6
Author	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bacteriologist	-	-	-	1	1	2
Biochemist	-	1	1	-	-	-
Botanist	-	1	1	-	1	1
Chemist	5	-	5	21	4	25
Chiropodist	-	2	2	2	1	3
Civil Engineer	1	-	1	15	-	15
Civil Servant	30	51	81	83	104	187
Clergyman... ..	3	-	3	5	-	5
Company Secretary	-	-	-	1	-	1
Dentist	2	1	3	-	2	2
Dietician... ..	-	-	-	-	5	5
Draughtsman	2	-	2	10	3	13
Genealogist	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hospital Administrator	-	-	-	2	2	4
Journalist	2	4	6	-	7	7
Lawyer	5	-	5	3	-	3

Occupation	1936-37			1959-60		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Lecturer/Professor ...	3	4	7	28	13	41
Librarian... ...	2	5	7	-	10	10
Mathematician ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mechanical Engineer ...	-	-	-	4	-	4
Metallurgist ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Missionary ...	1	-	1	-	-	-
Musician ...	-	1	1	-	1	1
Occupational Therapist ...	-	-	-	-	2	22
Optician ...	-	1	1	4	-	4
Osteopath... ...	1	-	1	-	-	-
Playwright ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pharmacist ...	-	-	-	2	6	8
Physician... ...	-	1	1	12	10	22
Physicist... ...	-	-	-	4	1	5
Physiotherapist ...	-	-	-	1	10	11
Plant Pathologist ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Psychologist ...	-	-	-	1	2	3
Radiographer ...	-	-	-	-	2	2
Registrar... ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Research Engineer ...	-	-	-	10	-	10
Scientific Officer ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Solicitor... ...	-	-	-	7	-	7
Speech Therapist... ...	-	-	-	-	5	5
Statistician ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Stockbroker ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Surveyor ...	1	-	1	8	-	8
Teacher ...	14	78	92	59	211	270
Veterinary Surgeon ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
Writer to the Signet ...	-	-	-	5	-	5
MISCELLANEOUS:						
Agricultural Research ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
Attendant... ...	1	4	5	-	-	-
Cardiographer ...	-	-	-	-	2	2
Chicken Sexer ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Civil Defence Instructor ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Deaconess... ...	-	-	-	-	2	2
Designer, Motor ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Farmer ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Forestry Officer... ...	-	-	-	2	-	2
H.M.Forces ...	1	-	1	6	-	6
Horticulture ...	-	-	-	7	-	7
Housewife... ...	-	98	98	-	491	491

Occupation	1936-37			1959-60		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Local Government Officer	-	-	-	11	5	16
Medical Illustrator ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Messenger-at-Arms ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
No occupation ...	2	-	2	6	8	14
Park Superintendent ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Penguin Keeper at Zoo ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Pig Herdsman ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Police Officer ...	-	-	-	40	-	40
Prison Officer ...	-	-	-	1	-	1
Probation officer ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Retired ...	14	-	14	23	11	34
Salvation Army Officer ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Searcher of Records ...	-	-	-	-	1	1
Social Worker ...	-	6	6	2	12	14
Student ...	4	20	24	48	41	89
Youth Club Worker ...	-	-	-	17	11	28
Unknown or Unstated ...	14	73	87	22	74	96
TOTALS ...	281	519	800	780	1535	2315

APPENDIX XI

NUMBER of EXTRA-MURAL CLASSES and NUMBER of ENROLMENTS
in COUNTIES of SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND from 1930 to 1960

	Mid-loth'n		East loth'n		West loth'n		Berwick		Selkirk		Roxburgh		Peebles		TOTAL	
Year	Cl	St	Cl	St	Cl	St	Cl	St	Cl	St	Cl	St	Cl	St	Cl	St
1930-31	2	69	6	134	7	133	1	8	3	128	6	129	-	-	25	581
1931-32	-	-	1	24	1	20	-	-	1	45	1	22	-	-	4	111
1932-33	-	-	5	120	1	20	1	11	5	203	4	90	-	-	16	444
1933-34	-	-	8	?	4	?	1	?	2	?	2	?	-	-	17	?
1934-35	2	?	9	?	7	?	2	?	2	?	1	?	-	-	23	?
1935-36	2	?	5	?	7	?	2	?	3	?	-	-	-	-	19	?
1936-37	2	?	7	?	5	?	2	?	2	?	-	-	-	-	18	?
1937-38	6	201	10	271	6	154	2	35	2	58	1	40	-	-	27	759
1938-39	5	?	7	?	6	?	2	?	3	?	1	?	-	-	24	692
1939-40	3	?	5	?	5	?	-	-	1	?	-	-	-	-	14	?
1940-41	3	?	8	?	5	?	2	?	1	?	-	-	-	-	19	?
1941-42	3	?	7	?	3	?	2	?	2	?	-	-	-	-	17	?
1942-43	3	?	4	?	5	?	1	?	5	?	-	-	-	-	18	?
1943-44	3	?	10	?	8	?	6	?	1	?	-	-	-	-	29	893
1944-45	3	?	8	?	4	?	1	?	8	?	1	?	1	?	26	723
1945-46	6	?	14	287	3	?	3	?	8	?	-	-	-	-	34	980
1946-47	3	?	14	305	8	?	2	?	9	247	-	-	-	-	36	818
1947-48	1	?	14	257	9	?	2	?	4	?	-	-	-	-	30	732
1948-49	2	?	14	?	8	?	6	?	3	?	1	?	3	?	37	866
1949-50	3	?	9	?	11	?	7	?	4	?	3	?	9	?	46	1083
1950-51	4	?	11	?	9	?	7	?	8	?	7	?	9	?	55	1256
1951-52	5	?	7	?	9	?	7	?	5	?	3	?	6	?	42	819
1952-53	2	?	8	?	4	?	4	?	2	?	4	?	3	?	27	593
1953-54	3	50	6	111	9	158	7	155	3	113	3	115	5	100	36	787
1954-55	4	128	7	119	10	196	8	163	4	334	4	138	5	82	42	1160
1955-56	3	110	6	115	16	266	6	138	6	289	6	211	5	113	48	1242
1956-57	5	91	6	72	13	250	7	156	7	231	5	129	4	77	46	1006
1957-58	9	147	5	79	12	173	9	203	6	149	4	94	5	90	50	935
1958-59	2	32	6	86	12	159	10	190	6	145	4	102	5	106	45	820
1959-60	4	56	4	63	7	82	6	145	6	214	3	76	5	112	35	748

Cl = Classes. St = Students

1933-34 Grants from Educational Trusts introduced

1939-40 Outbreak of War

1945-46 New Education (Scotland) Act.

The records prior to 1953 while listing classes do not give the number of students in attendance at separate classes.

APPENDIX XIIEDINBURGH UNIVERSITY EXTRA-MURAL COMMITTEEPUBLIC LECTURES commonly called "TOWN and GOWN" LECTURES

- 1951-52 Principal Sir Edward Appleton, G.B.E., K.C.B., F.R.S.
 "Exploring the Upper Atmosphere"
- Professor John Macmurray, M.C., LL.D.
 Department of Moral Philosophy
 "The Philosopher's Business"
- Professor Sir Alexander Gray, C.B.E., LL.D.
 Department of Political Economy
 "The Rise of the Welfare State"
- 1952-53 Professor F.A.E. Crew, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.
 Department of Public Health and Social Medicine
 "Biological Aspects of War"
- Professor Richard Pares, C.B.E., F.B.A.
 Department of History
 "The Historian's Business"
- Professor Emeritus James Ritchie C.B.E., LL.D.
 Department of Natural History
 "Man and Wild Life in Scotland"
- 1953-54 Professor Angus McIntosh, M.A.
 Department of English Language
 "The Study of Scots Dialects"
- Professor S. Piggott, B.Litt., F.B.A.
 Department of Prehistoric Archaeology
 "The Archaeologist's Business"
- Professor W. Croft Dickinson, M.C., LL.D.
 Department of Scottish History
 "Scotland and the Scots"
- 1954-55 Professor A.C. Aitken, LL.D., F.R.S.
 Department of Mathematics
 "The Mathematician's Business"
- Professor A.D. Ritchie, M.A.
 Department of Logic and Metaphysics
 "Is Education Possible in the Twentieth Century?"
- Professor D.M. Dunlop, M.D., F.R.C.P.
 Department of Clinical Medicine
 "Changing Fashions in Treatment"

- 1955-56 Professor D.Talbot Rice, M.B.E., D.Litt.
 Department of Fine Art
 "Art and Art History"
- The Rev. Professor N.W. Porteous, D.D.
 Department of Hebrew
 "The Necessity of the Old Testament"
- Professor J.P. Kendall, LL.D., F.R.S.
 Department of Chemistry
 "Chemistry in Edinburgh"
- 1956-57 Professor R. McAdam, Ph.D., F.R.S.E.
 Department of Mining
 "Edinburgh's Contribution to Mine Rescue Work"
- Professor M.M. Swann, Ph.D.
 Department of Natural History
 "Living Fabric"
- Professor A.H. Campbell, M.A., LL.M.
 Department of Public Law
 "Is International Law of any Use?"
- 1957-58 Principal Sir Edward Appleton, G.B.E., K.C.B., F.R.S.
 "The International Geophysical Year, 1957-58"
- Professor Sir Frederick Rees, LL.D.
 Department of Economic History
 "The Evolution of the Commonwealth"
- Professor John Macmurray, M.C., LL.D.
 Department of Moral Philosophy
 "Town and Gown"
- 1958-59 Professor D.B. Horn, D.Litt.
 Department of Modern History
 "Historian's Holiday"
- Professor W.L. Renwick, LL.D., F.B.A.
 Department of Rhetoric and English Literature
 "School of Literature"
- Professor G.L. Montgomery, T.D., M.D.
 Department of Pathology
 "Plague and Circumstance"
- 1959-60 Professor Denys Hay, M.A.
 Department of Mediaeval History
 "Europe - Ideal and Reality"

1959-60 Professor John Bruce, C.B.E., T.D., F.R.C.S.E.
 (contd) Department of Clinical Surgery
 "About Surgery and Surgeons"

Professor H.A. Brück, D.Phil., Ph.D.
 Department of Astronomy: Astronomer Royal
 "New Tools for the Exploration of the Universe"

APPENDIX XIIIADULT EDUCATION in H.M.FORCES in SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND

The origins of education in the army are extremely difficult to trace. Little has been written and those few books which deal with the subject dismiss army education prior to the first World War in a few pages. The history of army education in Scotland is even more vague. Army education did exist prior to the present century but it was almost entirely of a voluntary nature, although Cromwell issued his troops with a "Soldiers' Catechism" (1) in which soldiers were told "to make it their business to learn and get what cunning they can." Individual officers at times took up the cause of the education of their troops but there seems to have been no general educational policy. Garrison schools were opened for the children of the members of the forces at the end of the seventeenth century when the army "first discovered the nuisance value of children" (2) That was before the days of Sunday schools. The education of the children soon expanded to the education of their fathers and the value of literacy was soon recognised among non-commissioned officers and also in the ranks. Lt.Colonel Barclay

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1. Peers: Adult Education (Routledge & Kegan Paul 1958)
p.133
 2. Scottish Adult Education: no.14: p.7.

of the 52nd Foot in 1807 had some form of educational instruction for his troops. (1) William Cobbett earlier had taught men reading, writing and arithmetic while he was a sergeant-major in the army. In 1838 libraries were approved for military establishments. It is interesting to note that this proposal came not from an educational source but as a result of a Royal Commission on Military Punishments. Reforms followed the report and we find that all new barracks were to be furnished with a room to serve the joint purposes of chapel and schoolroom. (In the last war at Royal Air Force stations the same building was usually equipped as a church and a gymnasium.) In 1846 such a room was built at Piershill Barracks in Edinburgh. The education of the troops there seems to have had sufficient effect for in 1849 the commanding officer wrote, "The new system of education has already had a visible effect on the regiment.... Experience has convinced me that crime has diminished as men have rational occupation and comfort in their quarters. We had very few defaulters during the past month, and in six days none: which is unusual in a place like Edinburgh, and is, I think, to be attributed to the school and the occupations attendant upon it." (2)

1. Hawkins and Brimble: Adult Education: The Record of the British Army: (Macmillan 1947) p.5

2. *ibid.* p.19

The position of schoolmaster in the army improved and with the introduction of three classes of army certificates of education in 1860 education became something established in the army although it was still at the discretion of commanding officers to adopt a scheme of education or not. At about the same time lectures were often given by padres, schoolmasters and other officers who volunteered. "The lectures were illustrated by 'magic lanterns' which were supplied to various stations with a view to enabling the schoolmasters and others to deliver instructive and amusing lectures to the troops. (1) Boxes of slides were circulated to units at home and abroad. The use of a visual aid at this period is worthy of notice. The army was gradually during the nineteenth century recognising the soldier as an individual. Various reports and reforms were introduced in the latter part of the century by which it was intended that the ordinary soldier should be able to acquire some technical or other skill to fit him for resettlement in civilian life at the end of his term of service.

In 1906 an order altered the promotion regulations so that a soldier who was in possession of a third-class cert-

1. Brimble: op.cit. p.25. Cf. Bowyer-Bower quoted by Peers: op.cit. p.134.

ificate of education became eligible for proficiency pay. (1) The Board of Education also became interested in the state of army education and by 1909 the status of a trained army schoolmaster was improved and equated with that of civilian certificated teacher. By this time, too, the educational attainments of many men in the services was greatly improved. Compulsory education in civilian life had been in progress for just over a generation. The army recognised this and tried to fulfil two paragraphs of the Army Manual of Education. "The function of education is to develop the potential of the individual. Accordingly the function of education in the army is to develop the potential of the soldier. Army education increases the soldier's efficiency by improving his professional competence and building up his morale." (2) It is curious, however, that immediately on the outbreak of war in 1914 the high thoughts about army education and the improvement of morale were forgotten. Educational activity came to a standstill and the Corps of Army Schoolmasters dispersed.

Lord Gorell recognised the short-sightedness of the policy. "There was for two and a half years an almost

1. War Office Paper: 1906.

2. Army Manual of Education: pars.1-2.

complete absence of recognition that the young men entering the army were possessed of minds, interests and prospects which neither preparation for war nor war itself could wholly divert or destroy." (1) Although official army instruction ceased, informal education was available for those who wished it, in the canteens and huts of the Y.M.C.A., throughout the home country and overseas. There, lectures were given and opportunities extended for small groups interested in different subjects and crafts. In September 1914, the local Y.M.C.A. in Edinburgh, undertook service on behalf of the territorial battalions encamped in the Park of Holyroodhouse. It erected two marquees, one of which was set aside for reading, writing, lectures, concerts and religious services. By 1916 a hut had also been erected at the Duddingston camp. "On three or four evenings in each week fully organised features in the form of lectures, concerts, cinematograph exhibitions and religious services have been arranged for the men and in each instance every seat has been occupied and many have had to stand...." (2) Another centre in the Lothians was at Amisfield House, near Haddington. Many professors and lecturers of the University

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1. Lord Gorell: Education in the Army: (Oxford University Press 1921)
 2. Edinburgh Y.M.C.A. Report: 1917.

and members of the professions gave their services willingly to the work. Some travelled further afield to the battle areas and courses were also arranged at base camps. Sir Douglas Haig is reported to have shown particular interest in this activity. (1) The work at the various camps in the Edinburgh area did not end until 1920. The Y.M.C.A., however, had neither the resources, financially, nor administratively, to carry through the programme required for the new army. In 1915 a committee was formed at its headquarters to control and extend the work. It was under the chairmanship of Dr William Temple who was to become Archbishop but who at that time served as an enthusiastic supporter of the W.E.A. The committee enlisted the support of some university and other lecturers to assist with the work.

In Scotland the most satisfactory way of obtaining educational assistance was through the local school boards. To facilitate their help, the regulations governing continuation classes were amended in August 1915 to allow instruction to be provided in general subjects, geography, topography, foreign languages and in recreational subjects like arts, crafts and music. At the special request of the War Office, classes to train soldiers as military cooks were

1. S.J.Curtis: Education in Britain since 1900: (Dakers 1952) p.273.

also organised in Edinburgh at this time. Instruction was given during the day in six city schools. The teaching of cookery to the girl pupils in these schools was suspended for the time. In all, fourteen groups of twenty soldiers attended for five hours per day for a fortnight. (1) Instruction was allowed also in "useful and interesting subjects as experience and the wishes of the students may suggest." (2) In Edinburgh classes began in the first year of the war with 833 students in the winter session and 85 in the summer. By the 1916-1917 session no fewer than 2,458 students attended classes specially arranged for them. Some 1,085 attended for English and arithmetic and 810 for the history and geography of the war. It is interesting that so many enrolled for the elementary subjects. There were other classes for ambulance work, field sketching and map-reading, while 17 soldiers attended for lip-reading.(3) Classes of military advantage were carried on during the day and attendance was compulsory. Those of a general educational nature met in the evening. During the session 1918-1919 at the end of hostilities the Scottish Education Department in cooperation with the army authorities devised a scheme

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1. Edinburgh School Board: Continuation Classes: Report of Organiser: 1915-1916.
 2. Minute of Committee of Council on Education in Scotland: 19th August 1915.
 3. Edinburgh School Board: C.C.Reports: 1916 onwards.

of educational training. Special classes were organised at four centres in the Edinburgh area, Dreghorn Camp, Craigleith Hospital, Castlehill School, and James Gillespie's Higher Grade School. No fewer than 24 subjects of instruction were provided. The list is worth quoting to show the range of the requirements of the servicemen in the area and the consequent need for the development of as wide a programme in civilian life - English, arithmetic, history, geography, shorthand, typewriting, bookkeeping, business procedure, French, German, Spanish, Latin, Hindustani, botany, physics, chemistry, building construction, political economy, music, first aid (animals), engineering, plumbing and carpentry. Classes were held from 2 to 4 in the afternoons and from 5 to 7 in the evenings. (1)

By 1918 the army itself was examining its educational system and a scheme was drawn up to provide for "officers and men an opportunity to prepare themselves for their return to civil life." (2) A War Office film library was created with some hundred films dealing with scientific, literary, historical, geographical and industrial subjects.

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1. Edinburgh School Board: Continuation Classes: Report by Organiser: 1918-1919.
 2. Sir Douglas Haig's final dispatch: 21st March 1919.

Army Order no.3 of December 1918 stated that educational training could "no longer be regarded as a secondary consideration and as much time as can be made available.... should now be devoted to it." In the summer following, Mr Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War, stated in the House of Commons that, "It has been decided that education is henceforward to be regarded as an integral part of army training." (1) The rapid run-down of the army probably prevented the carefully planned schemes from developing in the way which might have been expected of them but they laid the foundation on which army education of the future was to be built. The Army Educational Corps was created in 1920 and the Manual of Educational Training was produced. The aim might be summed up in the paragraph of the present Manual which says, "High morale demands information, competence and contentment. A soldier wants to know his job and why it is important." (2) The basis of army education was wide and citizenship with all its implications was to be a theme running through all instruction to enable the soldier to realise his place in the community.

By the late 1930s there was a fairly established tradition

1. Hansard: 5th August 1919.

2. Army Manual of Education: current issue.

of education in the army although the educational corps itself was small. When the first conscription in peacetime took place in 1938 the universities, the Y.M.C.A. and the W.E.A. urged the War Office to provide facilities for the militiaman to continue his interrupted studies. A scheme was prepared but the outbreak of war in 1939 brought about its end and the army educational system was again dispersed. It is surprising that in the light of the experience of the previous war the dispersal took place with such totality. Those in authority had obviously not studied the military educational history of the 1914-1918 war or at least they had not profited by the errors of the leaders at that time who likewise had scattered the educational potential and suspended educational activity only to find before long the urgent need for an educational programme.

It was left to the same civilian bodies, university, Y.M.C.A. and W.E.A. with the able support of the press to insist upon some national scheme to coordinate and develop spasmodic work which had been encouraged by commanding officers. As a result, a Central Advisory Council for Adult Education in H.M. Forces was formed in January 1940 and a month later a committee was set up in Edinburgh for Scotland. The first six months was a very difficult

period. (1) Commanding officers were unhelpful and more interested in the job of training their troops for war than in considering any requirements of training for their troops as civilians. Despite, however, the uphill work, lecturers were able to give a few odd lectures and a few classes were arranged. As in 1914 the subjects most in demand were of the current affairs type. The army's requirements were no different from the civilian requirements. The civilians were anxious about the background of the war, its geography and significance: the men in the forces, the civilians in uniform, had the same requests.

Before the first year had ended in the south-east of Scotland servicemen were attending free of charge classes organised by the local education authorities. Units were forming education schemes which often had little success as they were put in the charge of young subalterns whose rank carried little prestige and whose experience was little more than that of schoolboys. The anti-aircraft units were keen on scientific subjects as well as current affairs. As men settled down at gun-sites, searchlight positions, and at

1. The information in the succeeding paragraphs has been compiled mainly from the reports and statistics of the Edinburgh Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces: 1940-1949.

barrage balloon sites requests came for help with the cultivation of the land around them. This service was assisted by the advisers of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture. By 1941 literature and drama were among the subjects of lectures and class study. One act plays were performed. Facilities for arts and crafts were being demanded especially in hospitals. Advice was being sought by men about their individual requirements. "In not a few cases free tuition was secured for these individuals from persons known to the honorary secretary." (1) The army staff officer and the regional secretary organised fortnightly model lectures for officers of the three services. As many as 150 to 250 attended these demonstrations in the University. These courses enabled officers to lead their unit or section discussion groups in the subjects discussed in the pamphlets of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs and other similar organisations.

To Lieutenant-General Sir A.F.Andrew N.Thorne who was General Officer Commanding Scottish Command in 1941 must go much of the credit for a serious attempt to combine educational services with military duties. He pioneered, in the winter of 1941-1942, an experiment whereby, during the normal

1. Edinburgh Regional Committee for Education in H.M.Forces:
Report: April-September 1941.

winter programme of training, a compulsory period of educational instruction was made possible and had good effect on the men's purely military work and morale. "So impressed was the Army Council by the results of the Scottish experiment that approval was given to a winter educational scheme for all the forces and A.T.S. detachments at home." (1) The new curriculum comprised three hours' study. One of these was a military subject closely connected with the work of the soldier's unit. The second hour dealt in general with citizenship in its widest sense while the third could be devoted to any subject, cultural or practical, as the individual might select. These three hours were in addition to the A.B.C.A. discussion group. The intention was to make the soldier a better soldier, a better citizen and a better individual. The help of the Regional Committees was sought to assist with the instruction required.

The Regional Committee was also able to make available to the units books from libraries in the area. The librarian of the Edinburgh Public Library reported, for example, that on one day, 29th September 1942, no fewer than 3,850 books were out on loan to service personnel in addition to the boxes

1. The Scotsman: 29th September 1942.

of books which were issued to units and hospitals in and around the city. The demands on the county libraries were comparable. The Y.M.C.A. had established eight branch libraries in the area by 1943, at each of which there was a fair demand. A mobile library made weekly visits to upwards of forty sites. Wireless discussion groups by 1942 numbered eighteen and there is evidence that there might have been more had wireless sets been available. Exhibitions of work were held: despite difficulties gramophone circles were created. The Y.M.C.A. had eleven lecturers using the Pilkington method. Competitions and exhibitions, for example, of paintings by Scottish artists, were arranged by the Y.M.C.A. The women's services received attention. Housewifery, mothercraft and child welfare featured among the subjects requested besides many classes connected with the different arts and crafts. No fewer than thirty housewifery courses were held, each of five and a half days, at the Edinburgh College of Domestic Science in one session alone.

By 1943, courses, usually of five days' duration, were held at the University for officers from Dominion countries. Schools were teaching English to foreign troops stationed in the area. There was a demand for foreign languages by the British troops. Visits to places of educational interest

and value became very frequent. Factories, nursery schools, special schools, blood transfusion centre, printing works, dockyards, collieries, the Law Courts, Royal Botanic Garden and many departments of the University feature in the list. In succeeding years other interests were added. In 1944, as a result of visits to nurseries, some of the women in the A.T.S. adopted war-time nursery schools, visited them periodically and made toys for the children. In return they received instruction in child care. A full-time lecturer had been appointed to undertake a share of the instructional work, especially the briefing courses for officers in current affairs, while there was also an organiser for arts and crafts who supervised the work of the crafts instructors, both civilian and service, undertook lectures and demonstrations and selected suitable materials.

The war ended suddenly in 1945 and the Advisory Committee found itself involved in the various educational and vocational training schemes for personnel about to be demobilised. Background lectures had to be organised for the Army Formation College at Newbattle Abbey where there were some 500 students. The Committee provided instructors in technical drawing, building construction, household repairs, shorthand, domestic science, child care, commercial subjects and art

subjects as well as in more academic subjects and languages. Heriot-Watt College granted facilities in connection with the Formation College: the University assisted and a school near the Abbey was used for domestic science work. The Regional Committee's activities increased. Full-time lecturers had to be appointed for work at the Formation College. The number of individual interviews increased greatly. The peak period, however, had passed by 1947 and by the following year the Regional Committee met less frequently and was preparing for its successor. A detailed statistical table of the work of the Regional Committee is given at Appendix XV.

The army itself had also developed its own resources during the war period and prepared for the peace. It was assisted by the British Institute of Adult Education and the Pilgrim Trust. By the end of 1941 Army Study Centres had been created in four places in Britain. One of the first of these was in Glasgow. The idea behind the centres was to provide facilities for military personnel to have library and quiet rooms for study, for reading, opportunity to maintain interests in arts and crafts and music, and a place to offer the kind of facilities which might reasonably be expected in a good community centre. These study centres supplemented from service sources the opportunities afforded

by the Y.M.C.A. and other bodies, including the Church of Scotland Huts and Canteens Committee, who provided canteens and recreational facilities for servicemen. A centre was later established in Edinburgh. When wisely staffed, these centres often became in addition educational centres. In them could be found classes in languages, current affairs, and citizenship as well as courses in recreational subjects. The aim of the centres could be summed up in the motto inscribed on a poster in the entrance hall in Edinburgh, "Learn before you leave." The centre received help from many sources and especially from the University for its more advanced classes.

Although the war ended in 1945 and most of the war-time conscripts were released in the succeeding two or three years it had been decided to maintain a conscript army in Britain. National Service seemed established in Britain. At the same time the Ministry of Defence recognised that national servicemen should be given the opportunity, so far as the exigencies of the service allowed, to continue their civilian education. To provide the facilities was beyond the resources of the educational branches of the services themselves and in 1948 the Ministry of Defence united with the Universities through their Extra-Mural Departments to collaborate with the services education departments in making provision for adult education

in H.M.Forces. Nearly all the universities agreed and formed committees to coordinate the work. The Edinburgh Committee was composed of the chairman and secretary of the University Extra-Mural Committee, three other University representatives who were members of the Extra-Mural Committee, three representatives of the local education authorities, one of whom represented Edinburgh and the other two county areas, one representative of the voluntary bodies connected with adult education in the region and a representative of the Scottish Education Department. Each service was represented by its senior education officer in the area. Further to facilitate the work, the four Scottish Universities agreed to form a Joint (Scottish) Committee by which it was agreed that Edinburgh University in whose territory was the headquarters of Scottish Command would undertake the financial and administrative arrangements for Scotland as a whole. By this arrangement joint planning became possible with the result that there was a considerable increase in the work done in Scotland.

The period 1949-1960 was one of "fruitful collaboration" as Professor Peers has phrased it. (1) It was not without its difficulties which were more often than not the result

1. Peers: in Preface to Civilian Assistance to Services Education: (Central Committee for Adult Education in H.M.Forces 1955) p.2.

of the frequent changes of commanding officers and educational staff. The policy of one officer was often modified by his successor or entirely overturned. Frustration was common in the lecture courses and classes themselves, where postings, service duties and lack of support from local commanders often militated against assistance. Where the commanding officer was interested in the educational provision made at his unit all went well and much excellent work was accomplished. The University truly became a partner in an educational programme and not merely a supply agency. The partnership of the University had been stressed from the first at the highest levels of command but unfortunately the idea did not always permeate far enough down to the local commander or the section leader.

The scheme as seen in the area of the south-east of Scotland has three distinct aspects in which the University played a part. Lecture courses, especially in subjects where the University staff had expert knowledge, were frequently requested for all ranks. They might consist on any number of separate lectures. Single lectures by experts were also given when courses could not be arranged. The standard of the work and the type of study varied from centralised courses of lectures giving background knowledge of international affairs for officers about to undertake staff college courses,

or local briefings for staff officers, to others which were concerned mainly with presenting background information leading to discussion, of a similar nature to University Extension lectures. Highly technical or scientific courses were also arranged for officers and men in the more technical branches of the services. Among such subjects were lectures on space satellites, guided missiles, physical endurance in special circumstances, weather forecasting, and interplanetary travel. Lectures took place generally at the units themselves which were scattered throughout the area, from Edinburgh and its immediate environs to the Lothians and even to the town of Berwick-on-Tweed which for army administrative purposes was in Scottish Command and thus in the Edinburgh area. Lectures and courses often took place in University premises, classrooms and laboratories while residential and centralised courses were held both in service and in civilian premises, including several at Newbattle Abbey College. Besides lectures on technical subjects, in general cultural education and for leisure time activity, a number of courses, mostly residential, were held on resettlement subjects especially for officers who became redundant under a Defence White Paper in 1956.

At a lower level the University collaborated with the

services and the local education authorities in the provision of classes in leisure time activities, mainly handicrafts and hobbies, although classes were also held in languages and commercial subjects. The languages taught over the years in this area have included French, German, Italian, Russian, Hebrew, Latin and Japanese while commercial subjects have included shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, commercial practice and business procedure. These courses were either conducted by the local education authority or were taught by instructors who were paid at local education authority rates of pay.

A third form of University assistance has been the valuable personal interview and advisory service. All men having what might be considered the minimum qualification for embarking on a course leading to the universities and the professions were interviewed by the full-time tutor for adult education in H.M. Forces and encouraged to continue their studies. Facilities were found for likely candidates in classes already existing in technical colleges or organised by the local education authority. Sometimes classes were created specially for the men and women concerned. Others obtained private tuition from members of the staff of the University and other suitably qualified persons or were encouraged to take one of the many services correspondence

courses available. Others, again, were supplied with reading lists or put into touch with appropriate University departments for specialist advice.

All this work was accomplished by the civilian adult education bodies in addition to the courses organised by the services themselves through their educational or other departments. The civilian contribution amounted to no fewer than 450 courses of lectures in the eleven years of the scheme comprising some 2,515 separate sessions, some 510 classes with 6,918 separate sessions, and some 86 residential or centralised courses varying from one day to a week. This represents a great amount of work when it is remembered how few troops were actually stationed in the area. (The detailed figures are given in Appendix XVI.)

With the end of compulsory national service in view and the reduction in size of the modern army the work came to an end in 1960 with the dissolution of the Central Committee for Adult Education in H.M. Forces in London. A new scheme was devised by the Ministry of Defence for submission to the universities for their approval and acceptance. The new scheme was largely the same as its predecessor except that there was a devolution from the War Office in London to the various local commands. The old scheme had worked

well and many men and women in the services had come into contact with universities and university education who might never have had any other opportunity. They had had a chance during their service career to discuss, consider opinions and pass judgment upon them: they had had the chance of filling in gaps in their scholastic education. For many their outlooks had been broadened and they had learned the value and advantages of adult education. They had discovered that education was not just something for 'them,' meaning others, but for themselves. The words 'education' and 'study' came to have new meaning.

For the tutors and lecturers adult education in the services was a challenge. Not all were successful, often because they did not appreciate the difference between a services audience and a civilian audience. The method of the rostrum in the university classroom had to be abandoned. "The tutor who goes along to an audience of soldiers expecting to repeat the usual W.E.A. technique of an hour's lecture and an hour's discussion is foredoomed to failure: his hour's lecture will bore them: an hour's discussion will be beyond them." (1) Probably this is the reason why so few of the 'ordinary' man attend adult education classes of the W.E.A. and other similar organisations.

It points to the need for the rethinking of the technique of teaching ordinary adults. Dobson and Young achieved fame and distinction and could inspire the ordinary soldier audience. They had a new approach. Others captivated their audiences by illustration and reminiscence. The most successful never blamed their audience for any lack of success but examined themselves. Their teaching skill had to be matched often against an unwilling, conscripted audience. Too often lecture sessions were parades under the eye, if not of the commanding officer, of the sergeant major: too often lectures were held in rooms quite unsuited for adult education. The audience, by the nature of its compulsory attendance, was very mixed and many were forced to listen to lectures far beyond their understanding. In many units the percentage able to profit by this liberal education was quite small. The mass was exposed to it: the lecturer was thrown at the mass. The lecturer had to be prepared for almost anything from the size of the audience which might be a few or several hundred to lack of equipment or facilities which might have been requested and promised but forgotten in the orders. The hesitant lecturer was lost as soon as he began to speak: the arrogant created a resistance in his first sentences: the inflexible found circumstances often too much for him. The successful men, who, it has been

estimated, were only ten per cent of those listed on the panel of lecturers, (1) were flexible, sincere and able to adapt themselves to every circumstance. The soldier was often serious-minded although his basic knowledge was perhaps not so extensive as might have been presumed. This became evident in discussion with individuals or small groups, even in most uninspiring surroundings like gun-sites or gun-posts on lines of communication. These men were prepared to think, discuss and re-discuss. In the mass the heavy hand of discipline stifled independent thought. "Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die...." Imprisonment from civilian life changed the attitude of the soldier, and the lecturer who failed to realise this difference often failed to win his audience or make his point. Where a lecturer overcame the resistance and appreciated the different situation he was invariably a success and the demands made upon him were so frequent that he had difficulty in fulfilling them. Few have been the lecturers in services education who have not been depressed and thwarted by what are described as "the exigencies of the service." The phrase was a wonderful excuse for non-attendance, cancellation, breakdown of communications and the like. It was the excuse which the civilian

1. Political Quarterly: September 1942: quoted by Hawkins and Brimble: op.cit. p.310.

could not challenge. The Edinburgh University Committee often expressed its regret at accomplishing so little. "The activities of the committee have been confined in the main to technical matters. Civilian assistance is available: demand, not supply, is the problem.... A great deal more can be accomplished but the initiative must come from the services: it is they that determine the volume and the standard of the assistance wanted. That assistance will be provided on request." (1) Yet, despite everything, adult education in the services over the last twenty years has achieved much and there are many who owe their first introduction to liberal studies to some lecturer or tutor at a services educational class or lecture.

The scheme discussed in this appendix was principally devised for the army as the largest of the services. The Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force had somewhat similar educational schemes but they relied less on assistance from civilian sources. There had been adult education in the Royal Navy in the seventeenth century when educational officers are listed. Their business might have been described as vocational in that it was their duty "to instruct young officers in writing, arithmetic and navigation, and

1. Regional Committee for Adult Education in H.M. Forces: Report: September 1949.

to teach the youth of the ship." (1) In the nineteenth century many improvements were made as a result of various Commissions and general reports. (2) The Navy's educational scheme was largely technical and its schoolmasters had to be qualified in scientific and technical branches of learning. In the Edinburgh area civilian assistance was sought by the various bases in the Firth of Forth. An important part of the provision was made in citizenship and current affairs. Cultural activities and recreational activity were also encouraged. The reports of the Extra-Mural Committee of the University of Edinburgh report the success of lectures at H.M.S. Caledonia, the training establishment at Rosyth, and at H.M.S. Temeraire at South Queensferry, the shore station responsible for the training of uppyardmen, potential officers of the service.

Education began in the Royal Air Force at its birth in 1918. Like the Royal Navy, the Royal Air Force is a technical service and much of its educational work is devoted to vocational ends. In its general education scheme, however, its station education officers are required to undertake a great deal of teaching and only expected to

1.S.J.Curtis: op.cit. p.279.

2.e.g. Newcastle Commission; 1861.

use civilian resources when they are unable to undertake any part of the work themselves. Lectures have often been of a higher standard in the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy because, on the whole, the members of these services have been selected. The writer served for four years in the educational services of the Royal Air Force and now having had experience of the other services also feels that there is no doubt that the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy are more self-sufficient in education. Even recreational facilities in drama, music and handicrafts can frequently be supervised by a volunteer at a Naval or Royal Air Force establishment. Civilian assistance is often only required to increase the interest already there.

A further contribution to adult education for servicemen was made in the Edinburgh area during the war and after. Courses were provided for foreign troops stationed in the area. During the first World War a little was done by the local education authority in the provision of language instruction, elementary subjects and map-reading, (1) while towards its end attention was paid to the rehabilitation of prisoners-of-war in the area. During the second World War there were many more allied troops in this country and in Edinburgh was set up the University of Poland. Courses

1. supra p. 215

were arranged in English and other languages while large numbers attended lectures on Scottish life and history. Lectures were arranged at the Polish Staff College in the region and many more later in connection with the Polish resettlement scheme. In particular, officers and men were trained as instructors before being drafted for final training especially in teaching method. Work with Polish troops continued until 1949.

When troops from the United States of America arrived in the area the Regional Committee for Education in H.M. Forces undertook further work in making Scottish life and history known to them while more advanced work was done as opportunity arose. A course on administrative law was held at the University while there are records of courses giving background information of the A.B.C.A. type. After the war, when the United States Air Force established a base at Kirknewton, a new service was supplied. Lecturers and teachers undertook work at American High School level for certificates while others were responsible for courses which qualified for the degrees of the University of Maryland. By 1955 this work amounted to the employment of six lecturers who conducted eight courses comprising 384 hours' tuition. This was work of quite a different form from that undertaken for British forces, especially as the classes had an end in

view, a certificate of a university or high school. American students also attended courses organised by the Extra-Mural Committee in liberal studies but many ceased attendance when they realised that these classes neither led to examinations nor qualified for diplomas. Most Americans attending classes were seeking 'credits' which they could later use in civilian life. Much of the difference of adult education on the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean is seen in this last attitude to the rewards of attendance and performance of work.

No account of adult education in H.M.Forces would be complete without reference to the wider sphere of Edinburgh University's contribution. The University undertakes the supervision and coordination of the work of Scotland as a whole through a Central (Scottish) Committee for Adult Education in H.M.Forces on which the four Scottish Universities are represented and the three services by their senior education officers. The Director of Extra-Mural Studies of Edinburgh University is secretary of the Central (Scottish) Committee and the Edinburgh University Accountant is finance officer. Through the contacts established in this committee the different universities are able to help each other, especially in the provision of

lectures on the fringes of their areas. By agreement with the University of St Andrews, Edinburgh provides the lecture programme for the Royal Navy at Rosyth and for the Royal Air Force at Pitreavie Castle. Both these places are geographically in the St Andrews' area but they are more readily accessible from Edinburgh. Stirling is in Glasgow University area but equally accessible from Edinburgh. In 1957 when economy cuts in expenditure were being pressed, Glasgow University left the entire organisation of single lectures and classes in its area to Edinburgh. A full-time lecturer for services' education is on the staff of Edinburgh University and in the course of duty often travels to units stationed in other university areas. Edinburgh University's responsibilities in army education have even extended to England at Berwick-on-Tweed. Although geographically in England the army units stationed there are under the command of the General Officer Commanding Scottish Command and therefore included among those to be provided for by the Central (Scottish) Committee.

The organisation for the future is still undefined in August 1960 but it is expected that a modified form of central arrangement will continue.

APPENDIX XIVNUMBERS of SOLDIERS attending CLASSES for ADULTS
specially arranged during the FIRST WORLD WAR

(see pages 386 ff. for detail)

Year	Winter & Spring Terms	Summer Term
1914-15	833	85
1915-16	1659	151
1916-17	2458	107
1917-18	2408	+
1918-19	709	
1919-20	+	

+ A few classes were held in these periods but so far numbers attending cannot be traced.

APPENDIX XV

EDINBURGH REGIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES

	ROYAL NAVY including Royal Marines and W.R.N.S.			ARMY including A.A. & A.T.S.			ROYAL AIR FORCE including W.A.A.F.			TOTALS				
	Single Lectures	Courses	Classes	Single Lectures	Courses	Classes	Single Lectures	Courses	Classes	Single Lectures	Courses	Sessions	Classes	Sessions
1940-41 +				598	23	135				598	23		135	
1941-42	15	3	1	1057	108	173	11	3	17	1083	114	586	191	2969
1942-43	10	-	4	1717	148	172	65	15	30	1792	163	1051	206	3987
1943-44	83	14	14	2146	188	*176	183	16	82	2412	218	1563	*272	6292
1944-45	214	12	30	1989	*140	*244	205	26	25	2408	*178	1211	*299	4570
1945-46	228	8	30	1061	*58	*242	128	14	2	1417	*80	818	*274	3996
1946-47	40	4	12	302	*13	*156	10	4	-	352	*21	166	*168	4163
1947-48	30	-	10	132	6	*97	-	-	5	162	6	151	*112	3332
1948-49 +	+10	-	-	+27	10	57	+6	-	-	86	10	+59	57	+545
										10310	813	+5605	1714	+29854

* includes provision for Polish troops.

+ records incomplete for these years (Figures marked + in 1948-49 refer to the first six months only - 1st Nov. 1948 to 31st Mar. 1949. Other figures for 1948-49 refer to the whole session.)

APPENDIX XVI

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY EXTRA-MURAL COMMITTEE SERVICES SUB-COMMITTEE
SUMMARY OF UNIVERSITY ASSISTANCE TO H.M. FORCES 1949-1960

	ROYAL NAVY (men and women)					ARMY (men and women)					ROYAL AIR FORCE (men and women)					TOTALS				
	Single Lectures	Courses	Sessions	Classes	Sessions	Single Lectures	Courses	Sessions	Classes	Sessions	Single Lectures	Courses	Sessions	Classes	Sessions	Single Lectures	Courses	Sessions	Classes	Sessions
1949-50	22	6	36	-	-	35	11	142	48	863	16	2	16	-	-	73	19	194	48	863
1950-51	9	9	59	-	-	40	13	380	14	470	-	3	29	-	-	49	25	468	14	470
1951-52	26	6	29	-	-	116	12	146	31	739	2	7	65	-	-	144	25	240	31	739
1952-53	13	7	42	-	-	7	28	191	22	548	2	8	66	1	6	22	43	299	23	554
1953-54	10	18	54	-	-	16	30	143	50	589	7	16	59	-	-	33	64	256	50	589
1954-55	2	16	72	-	-	14	32	173	63	681	13	13	63	-	-	29	61	308	63	681
1955-56	3	9	32	-	-	16	27	116	55	518	2	8	32	-	-	21	44	180	55	518
1956-57	3	9	34	-	-	7	22	77	52	542	2	8	30	-	-	12	39	141	52	542
1957-58	10	9	27	-	-	12	33	110	46	553	2	12	36	-	-	24	54	173	46	553
1958-59	10	13	45	1	30	10	21	83	65	703	6	4	12	-	-	26	38	140	66	733
1959-60	6	2	8	-	-	9	36	108	62	676	8	-	-	-	-	23	38	116	62	676
																456	450	2515	510	6918

In addition 86 centralised and residential courses were held

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